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ABSTRACT

This monograph, part of a series that attempts to bring a particular intellectual perspective to bear on the practical problems of administering education, points out that educational administration as a field of study is of limited use in coming to terms with the complexity and value-laden nature of educational practice. Language and cultural sensitivities create illusions about change and progress, and "reform" programs are created to reformulate the relationships among purpose, means, and ends. Yet investigations of the phenomenon of change reveal an overwhelming resiliency of institutional patterns. An introductory essay is supplemented by four readings, all of which illustrate the difficult problem of improving school life. Change and stability are intricately tied to and are a part of our social, political, and historical world. To pursue this relationship, the introductory essay focuses on the institutional character of schooling, suggesting that underlying the social patterns of school organizations are principles of legitimacy, authority, and social order. These underlying principles, however, are the subjects of constant debate. The four readings that follow the introductory essay are critical analyses of particular events in which people have sought to transform schooling, and give attention to the effects of social, cultural, and economic influence on school life as well as the social density of existing school relations. The essays are drawn from different historical contexts (Scotland, Sweden, and the United States) to illustrate the multiple elements outside of, as well as in, schools that come into play when people act to alter and modify their world, and point to the importance of situating the problem of change within specific historical and cultural circumstances. The four readings (with their authors) are: (1) "Robert Owen and Education: A Re-assessment" (D. Hamilton); (2) "Educational Reform as the Organization of Ritual: Stability as Vocational Education and Implementation of the Perkins Act" (Charles W. Radcliffe). Short biographies of participants complete the document. (KC)

ESA 841 THEORY AND PRACTICE IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Change and Stability in Schooling

The Dual Quality of Educational Reform

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ESA841 Theory and practice in educational administration

Change and stability in schooling: the dual quality of educational reform

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The course includes:
Change and Stability in Schooling
Class, Control and Contestation in Educational Organisation
Critical Theory and Educational Practice
Educational Administration and Student Outcomes
Educational Administration and the Management of Knowledge
Loose-Coupling Revisited: A Critical View of Weick's Contribution to Educational Administration
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Series Introduction

It is now widely recognised, among theorists and practitioners alike, that the traditions that have informed educational administration as a field of study for several decades are of only limited use in coming to terms with the complexity and value-laden nature of educational practice. The sudden politicisation of the context and conduct of education has raised issues of immediate import that cannot be dealt with adequately by functionalist analysis or behavioural science. The collapse of these theoretical traditions in educational administration has produced a vacuum into which a very haphazard collection of intellectual bric-a-brac has been sucked. As a result, both theorists and the practitioners who look to them for help in an increasingly disordered world are alike in their bewilderment. How can alternative formulations be developed? How can reliable and relevant analyses be made?

The series of books of which this volume is a part is an attempt to explore a variety of intellectual traditions that have, until now, been largely ignored or dismissed by educational administrators. Each of the books is an attempt to bring a particular intellectual perspective to bear on the practical problems of administering education. They are, therefore, diverse in their starting points and in their analysis. What they have in common, however, is a rejection of a purely technical, functionalist approach to educational administration, and a commitment to a critical and reflexive consideration of educational practice.

The ideas presented in the introductory essays are necessarily an encapsulation of arguments which have developed and are developing more fully elsewhere. In order to assist readers to participate in these developments, selected readings are attached to each paper, and an annotated bibliography of key works is provided. We hope that the publication of this series will encourage others to join a necessary exploration of alternative perspectives in educational administration. Such exploration is long overdue.

Course team chairman

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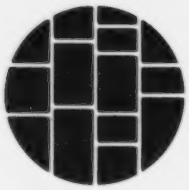
Change and stability in schooling: the dual quality of educational reform



Introduction

It is perhaps one of the ironies in writing about educational change and reform that very little is known about them. Our language and cultural sensitivities continually create illusions about change and progress. From the continual repackaging of commodities to our social categories of modernisation, post-industrial civilisation or the atomic age, we are left with the impression of a dynamic world that is in continual transition and progress. We create programs to intervene in institutional structures, calling the programs 'reforms' to indicate the desire to reformulate the relationships among purpose, means and ends. Yet investigations of the phenomenon of change reveal an overwhelming resiliency of institutional patterns. While the flow charts of organisational change and the countless efforts of 'change agents' provide a rhetoric of progress, we are left with the conservation of existing arrangements and have little theory and fewer empirical studies to explain the stability amidst the fervour of change.

Part of the difficulty in understanding change is related to the ways social interventions are conceptualised, researched and designed. The belief exists that the problem of change is an administrative one. The planner/researcher identifies the logical sequences or outcomes of an intervention and how people are to be moved efficiently towards the desired goal. Taxonomies of system variables, models of organisational arrangements or psychological attributes (such as achievement or satisfaction) are superimposed upon the dynamics of social life to represent change. As will be argued, these symbols of change actually legitimate stability and are political in nature.

This introductory essay and the collection of articles in this book illustrate the difficult problem of improving school life. It will be argued that the concepts of change and stability are intricately tied to and are a part of our social, political and historical world. To pursue this relationship, the initial essay focuses on the institutional character of schooling, suggesting that underlying the social patterns of classroom and school organisations are principles of legitimacy, authority and social order. These underlying principles, however, are the subjects of constant debate, responding to the struggles, strains and transformations occurring in the larger society. At any one time, there are both dominant interests in schools and the creation of mechanisms that enable these interests to persist. Yet, counter-interests in school and in society do emerge to influence the form of institutional life. To understand change requires locating the way stability is maintained and the points at which strain and conflict occur. The irony of conventional views of change is that the concepts of stability and change are dichotomised, emphasising only problems of stability and consensus. In the final section the implications of this discussion to people in schools will be considered.

The essays that follow in this book are critical analyses of particular events in which people have sought to transform schooling. The studies give attention to the effects of social, cultural and economic influence on school life as well as the social density of existing school relations. The essays are drawn from different historical contexts (Scotland, Sweden and the United States) to illustrate the multiple elements outside, as well as in, schools that come into play when people act to alter and modify their world.

The essays also point to the importance of situating the problem of change within specific historical and cultural circumstances. The stories of these essays reiterate what Emile Durkheim (1977) states persuasively at the turn of the century: we know of no historical case where the ideals of the theorist have passed in their entirety, and without modification, into practice.

Schooling and the significance of institutional life

There are a variety of ways in which one might conceive of the problem of change in schools. One approach is to focus on the planners' claims and objectives in a program. The purpose of research programs is to assess whether the technologies or aims of the planners are incorporated into a school successfully. A second approach may be drawn from the testimonies of students, teachers and administrators about a program. The 'phenomenological' approach concerns how people perceive and interpret program designs, possibly revealing both anticipated and unanticipated consequences to predefined patterns.

A third approach, while not discounting planners' aims or participants' perspectives, places activities of reform within an institutional context (Berger and Luckmann 1967; Popkewitz 1979; Popkewitz, Tabachnick and Welhage 1982). Schooling is a socially constructed endeavour. To participate in the world of schooling is to participate in a social world which maintains particular lines of reasoning, action and values. Underlying the organisation of classrooms, teacher behaviours and standards of pupil achievement are dispositions towards *how* one is to talk, think, 'see' and act in the world. The dispositional quality of schooling is often ignored in research but is fundamental to a consideration of the significance of institutional life.

The forms of reasoning and values taught in school are never neutral. Our notions of 'learning' in school have emerged from the struggles of people who have sought to implement social and political visions in an institution designed to socialise youth. The history of public schooling involves intense and profound debate about what type of individual and society the school is to reproduce and these debates have become embedded in pedagogical constructions.

To understand the social foundations of schooling we need to consider that what is learned in school is more than mere subject-matter. The form and content interrelate and maintain assumptions and presuppositions by which students orient themselves to situations and make sense of their activities. Children in school learn not only the academic subject-matter but also the appropriate form in which to cast their academic knowledge. To do social studies, for example, provides students with definitions of which social problems are important, with criteria for judging the truth and validity of social statements, and with assumptions about what the elements of a social world are. The dispositional quality is an essential component of schooling. It suggests that schooling can have profound impact in the formation of consciousness.

The potency of the social patterns of schooling can be understood more adequately when considering the surface and underlying layers of mean-

ing in institutions. The surface layer of meaning is provided by publicly accepted criteria or standards by which people judge success or failure. A lesson objective or a team-teaching organisation might provide such a criterion. The underlying layer of meaning directs attention to the assumptions, presuppositions and 'rules of the game' that give plausibility and legitimacy to the ongoing actions. In the everyday world of schooling, the surface and underlying qualities of schooling interrelate. The significance of schooling can only be understood by examining the ways in which the two are linked and their assumptions, implications and consequences.

The underlying layer of school life not only channels thought and action but also reinforces and legitimates social values about authority and control. These values are contained in the nature of work made available to teachers and pupils. To engage in work is not only to change the form of the material through which one's labour is applied, but is also to express social relations and the realisation of purpose and will. In doing a reading assignment, manipulating objects for an art lesson or answering questions on a test, students and teachers alter and improve their world. These assignments produce social relations and direct pupils to ways of intervening in and realising purpose in their everyday life.

Values and interests are also carried in school patterns of communication. The organisation of instruction directs students towards a particular use of intelligence and a particular kind of reasoning about ideas and actions. Carl Becker (1932) suggests that rooted in the everyday life of each age are certain preconceptions, beliefs and values that give direction to social thought. The medieval assumption was that existence was a cosmic drama written by God, embodying a central theme and a rational plan. Men and women were to accept this plan as written in scripture and as interpreted by the church hierarchy. In a similar way, conceptions of knowledge are rooted in the organisation of curriculum and instruction. Children's participation in classrooms involves the development of particular vocabularies, styles of reasoning, myths and commonsense ideas about what is normal, reasonable and permissible in their social encounters. Direct instruction, open education or management systems may alternately view the world as rational or irrational, harmonious or conflictual and the individual as an active maker of history or as a passive recipient of history and social values.

That school provides a context for particular reasoning and values becomes evident when we consider the categories of school life. The public rhetoric of schooling draws upon common-sense labels that appear as though the activities of schooling are related to forms of reasoning and acting found in the larger social world. A child studies 'science' or 'social studies', writes 'poetry' and does 'research'. It is clear from investigations of schooling, however, that classroom practices have little, if any, relation to the occupational communities from which school labels are drawn. How many social scientists would gain understanding by reading a ten-page textbook chapter or evaluate the truth of statements through multiple-choice items? How many poets would sit at a desk for a fifty-minute 'creative' writing session, guided by behavioural objectives listed on a chalkboard? While the adult communities of scholarship would not accept these activities as worth their effort, the assumptions and models of conventional schooling form a background in which these practices are seen as plausible.

Visions of social order and classroom lessons

The patterns of school socialisation involve more than adapting and developing particular strategies for classroom teaching and learning. The patterns of school conduct are always rooted in assumptions about the nature of society, of individuality and of the relation of the individual to that society: embedded in pedagogy are theories of cognition, society and polity.

These interrelations can be illustrated by focusing on what might seem a simple lesson in mathematics. Part of the sequence of instruction may be to learn double-digit addition. A teacher plans the lesson by writing a lesson plan and constructing materials, and evaluates the lesson according to the set objectives. The lesson is justified for a variety of reasons: arithmetic facts are important ingredients of a mathematics curriculum and future lessons are dependent upon acquiring the presented knowledge. During the lesson, the teacher and students engage in discourse about arithmetic and the students work with textbooks and ditto sheets.

The surface meaning of the lesson involves setting objectives for learning certain arithmetic rules and devising a scheme for achieving that objective. The teaching seems linear and related to an overall sequence of instruction to master a subject-matter.

These surface meanings of the lesson, however, are developed in a context of institutional patterns, beliefs and justifications which constitute the underlying meaning. Rules and procedures exist prior to this mathematics lesson about the way children learn and develop, about the nature of knowledge and about social order and control in schooling. For example, the lesson on arithmetic might have defined the children as 'deficit systems' in which there was lacking a specific content that the children had to master. Or the lesson may have considered knowledge as emerging out of participation in community problem-solving, treating the learning of the arithmetic not as an end-in-itself but in relation to the processes of interaction and responsibility found in the classroom.

Emerging from the two different views of cognition (deficit and negotiation) are also contrasting views of society and of polity (Popkewitz 1982). To treat a child as a deficit is to define knowledge atomistically and the individual as an essentially receptive, reflective organism whose qualities are shaped over time by the environment. This epistemology leads to a political theory: the individual is denied the role of actor in the creation of history and culture. Social life is defined as fixed and unyielding to intervention. In contrast, to focus on negotiation as a way consciousness develops is to consider community and human psychology as integrally related and mutually reinforcing. The idea of negotiation, however, may also obscure the place of history in fashioning and shaping the world in which we live.

These two views of cognition and society do not exhaust the possibilities of the relationship among pedagogy, psychology and political theory. They illustrate that what may seem to be simple acts of classroom planning or management, in fact, contain profound and complex principles of authority and legitimacy.

It is within the context of the assumptions and models of socialisation that we can initiate consideration of the problem of change. To introduce

team-teaching, an inquiry-approach, or a management system of curriculum into a school is to interrelate the technologies of school reform within existing definitions of work and knowledge. The reform programs are neither just 'add-ons' to existing programs nor 'replacements' for existing patterns of reasoning, values and rules. The technologies of a reform are filtered through and transformed by the social condition in which they are realised.

Institutional differentiation and the social predicament of schooling

The organisation of school work and communication often implies a unified, universal pattern of behaviour and meaning underlying experience. Everyone is expected to go to school, to be treated equally and objectively and if differentiation occurs, it is the result of merit rather than ascribed characteristics of individuals. In most parts of the world pupils are taught mathematics, science and social studies in ways that suggest homogeneity of practice, and consensus of purpose within their country.

While the rituals and ceremonies of schooling create an illusion of homogeneity, the actual social transactions in schools contain differentiation in what is taught and learned (DeLone 1979). Rather than one common type of school there are different forms of schooling for different people. These different forms of schooling emphasise different ways of considering ideas, contain different social values and maintain different principles of legitimacy and forms of control.

The importance of these differences in schooling is two-fold. First, the differentiation in the work and knowledge of schooling represents different sensibilities and awarenesses necessary for access to positions of privilege and status in society. The social organisation of schooling serves to transmit the cultures and social awareness appropriate for a society which has different roles, status positions and occupational tasks. Manual workers, shopkeepers and intellectuals do not need, at the surface, the same knowledge or sensitivities to perform successfully in society. Second, at the same time, the differentiation that operates in schools also represents larger strains and struggles which are occurring in society. Schools not only reproduce culture but are dynamic elements within social structure. While the differentiation in knowledge may seem to serve functional purposes in society, the actual organisation of work in school may involve interests and dispositions that are in conflict with the functional requisites of the larger system. These modifications and transformations in schooling occur as the historical interests of schooling interrelate with social and political interests in society.

Differentiation in schooling, then, entails an important dynamic of social life. It involves a mechanism for stability. It also may involve fundamental contradictions and stresses, juxtaposing stability with dynamics which transform our social situation. Let me explore these two aspects of differentiation by giving references to a recent study of a reform program (Popkewitz, Tabachnick and Welhage 1982). The program was to introduce a management system for individualising instruction in American elementary schools. Six schools were studied in depth to understand how

the technologies of the program were realised in the institutional contexts of these schools. Rather than one common type of school, three patterns emerged in which the reform technologies were realised. These patterns contained different assumptions and implications for the work and knowledge of schooling.

If we focus on one aspect of life in school, the mathematics and science taught, we can illuminate the differences. Teachers in three of the six schools taught mathematics as a maze of facts, and science as a body of predefined tasks and facts. In a different school using the same reform program, mathematics involved a personal playfulness with numbers, and science with a tentativeness and scepticism towards the phenomena of the world. The first schools we called technical and the latter constructive. In a third category of schooling, called illusory, there were regular periods of instruction, textbooks and activities to symbolise instruction of the content. Examination of the social patterns of conduct, however, revealed an emphasis on the rituals of teaching and learning without much follow through. While children sat at their desks, they were taught little or no mathematics. The forms of school work and knowledge established a moral basis by which children could be socialised to act, juxtaposing the perceived pathologies of the children's community life and the teachers' image of the correct values. The rituals of illusory schooling established the importance of the categories of school knowledge that students needed to learn for later success, but at the same time, provided little or no teaching in the subject matter. The student failure, however, was defined as personal, the result of inadequacies of personality and community. The ongoing activities, materials and physical arrangement of the schools conveyed institutional regularity, competence and benevolence.

To understand these institutional differences in school work and knowledge requires a consideration of the social predicaments of schooling. Schools exist in societies which are increasingly differentiated in occupational skills, cultural sensitivities and social awarenesses. This differentiation subjects the school to certain demands and interpretations of its mandate. At one level, certain types of scientific and technological knowledge and social sensibilitiy are valued in school curricula. These sensitivities and awarenesses are typically the 'property' of those classes which have a dominating position in society. Yet not all children have equal access to the experiences, mannerisms and styles of interaction that are involved in acquiring this valued knowledge, thereby producing unequal access to school knowledge. Further, local concerns and parent perceptions provide differentiated vantage points for defining cultural knowledge and its transmission in school. Labourers in a factory typically experience science through working with the products of research or through definitions provided by the media. In each instance, the activity of science may become crystalised, defined as a fixed entity to be taught through direct instruction. The professional may have a different perspective, from his or her initiation into the ambiguities of the codes of science. This differentiation does not suggest what value is to be given to mental or manual labour. Rather it is to argue that there are different codes associated with social and cultural location.

The social predicament of the school also involves school traditions and histories that give coherence and reasonableness to school practices. The

public belief that social institutions should be rationally organised has led to the development of administrative theories about school organisation, curriculum and evaluation. The administrative theories have given rise to the development of technologies such as behavioural objectives, criterion-referenced measures and accountability. To accept the theories or technologies is to posit a way of acting that defines the scope and possibility of schooling.

The administrative theories occur, however, in conjunction with other theories, such as those of progressive education, personalised or free-schooling, and so on. A social function of these theories is to establish professional competence and control over specific domains of institutional life. In some situations, the theories serve as ideologies to create demands for extending professional practice, such as schools taking on added roles in upbringing, drug education or sex education. In some instances, professional ideologies may be in conflict with the demands and expectations produced by parents in the school community.

The social predicaments of the different institutional patterns of technical, constructive and illusory schooling can clarify the pressures of stability and change on schools. The behaviour, language and beliefs that characterise the classrooms of the schools we studied were related to larger social contradictions, tensions and historical conditions which filtered into classroom practices. In part, the schools did maintain traditions that contributed to social stability. There was a clear relation between the emphasis on personal autonomy and a problematic view of knowledge found in the constructive school and the professional occupations of the parents. The emphasis on interpersonal control, facility with language and negotiated knowledge corresponds to the socialisation patterns appropriate for professional groups in society (Bernstein 1977). Illusory schooling is a response, in part, to teachers' perceptions that the requisite dispositions for schooling were lacking in the children who come from the poor communities. Two of the three technical schools were populated by students from families of blue-collar or service occupations. Teachers' and administrators' perceptions of the social and economic location of communities were used to define a school mandate to teach the functional skills necessary for the anticipated later occupations of the pupils. A third technical school involved a different social situation. Located in an affluent business community, the hierarchical style of work and principles of authority related social and cultural beliefs with religious ones as a single church dominated the social, cultural and political infrastructure of the community.

The social predicament of the schools also reflected the dynamics of American life. The constructive school involved conflict between the teachers' perceived mandate from the specific community of the school and the district administrative efforts to introduce consistency and standardisation in textbooks and procedures across all schools in the district. Stressing the importance of standardisation and efficiency is one approach professionals use to create symbols of competence and status. The district-wide efforts to standardise restricted the options available within the school and brought open debate about the role of a professional teacher. The historical conditions of the illusory school and of one technical school also illustrate the social predicament. The conditions in one of the technical schools had many characteristics similar to those of the illusory schools

but differences in these schools can be attributed to the influence of the geographical and historical locations of the schools. The particular technical school was located in a southern American rural community whose population (white and black) has lived there for many generations. This produced a feeling of community obligation and responsibility, and familiarity among the staff. The illusory schools by contrast were located in urban neighbourhoods where there was no sense of history or community. The sense of intergenerational caring and obligation found in the manner of working with children and their parents was lacking in the illusory schools.

These elements of the social predicament do not emerge as carefully articulated arguments or forcefully documented concerns. Cultural and professional expectations provide background assumptions for schooling and are absorbed into the discourse and practices of the school in a variety of ways. The practices in classrooms reflect both school traditions and sociocultural values, although they do not always coincide and thus involve conflict. Programs are interpreted, modified and used in accordance with professional ideologies which are asserted through institutional traditions as well as in response to conditions outside the institution.

Change and social order: two parts of the same problem

In the previous discussion, I have been focusing on certain dimensions of institutional life. This has been done to situate any attempt to reform the ongoing structures and dynamics of schools. The argument has been leading us to consider the problem of institutional life as entailing a particular contradiction: change and social order are intertwined, to consider one requires also a consideration of the other (Nisbet 1969).

The interrelation of change and order can be grasped by considering school conduct as rooted in the past while also containing interests which challenge the dominant traditions, customs and relations. The major function of schooling is to transmit culture, and that culture is defined by those who have power within society. This power is not one of brute force but one of control of the patterns of communication and practice. It is no accident that the texts of American schoolbooks and teaching reflect Lockean liberal political theory about individualism and assumptions of market economics (Anyon 1979). Nor is it surprising to examine Soviet texts and find dialectical materialism, socialism and the Communist Party glorified (Popkewitz and Tabachnick 1982; Szekely 1977). The history and affairs of the state presented in a society's schools are interpreted generally as the consensual movement towards a common good, once the initial 'revolution' has been consolidated.

With a common past and culture projected in school are also actions that produce counter-trends and different visions of the individual in society. Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, Gramsci's views on a progressive education in capitalist countries, and worker's schools developed in the United States during the 1930s contest dominant interests. To understand historical development and change in schools, the interrelation and cross-fertilisation produced by the conflict of different visions and practices needs clarification.

The dynamic between transformation and order has been illuminated by discussions in political science about the central question of who rules. Traditionally this question has involved identifying who makes decisions in political contexts; but certain difficulties are posed when trying to distinguish between political and administrative decisions. Most decisions made in an organisation reflect the consensus about priorities and policies. Attention is directed to problems of implementation. Political decisions, by contrast, are those which challenge the rules of consensus and the interests which underlie them. Bachrach and Baratz (1970) argue that to understand political decision making, one must focus on organisations as the mobilisation of bias. In any organisation, there are dominant interests and biases which establish the parameters of decision making. Members of an organisation have a tacit understanding of what kinds of questions can and cannot be legitimately raised. When the rules of the game are challenged, political interests become evident and the decision process can be examined to identify who has power.

The locating of political decisions provides an entrance point for understanding the conditions of stability, the emergence of counter-interests and social transformation. Without focusing on the basis of social order, one is left without a way for considering change.

The juxtaposition of change and order has implications for schooling. Most often change is defined as a technological or administrative problem: a team-organisation is to be brought into a school; a building is to be architecturally open; teachers are to be made accountable by using criterion-referenced tests; or a curriculum is to be individualised. These administrative actions, by themselves, do not constitute change. They do not tell us anything about the mobilisation of bias that gives form to the rules and interpretations that underlie institutional life or how school technologies influence, challenge or maintain the organisational bias.

Stability and resilience of institutional arrangements

Institutional patterns impose complex social and political arrangements that are not easily altered. We assume, for example, that because a planner intends to produce change or because an administrator says this is the year for 'xy' that the program is implemented as intended. In fact, program evaluation is often based upon that assumption. A control group and experimental groups are established, pre-tests and post-tests are given, and the test outcomes are used to determine the success of the program. However, when we examine the social contexts into which the reform is introduced, we see that the assumption of implementation can be questioned.

The resiliency of institutions can be understood by considering the history of planned school change. First, innovations are incorporated into existing patterns of behaviour and belief. Second, reforms function as slogan systems in which the innovations actually legitimate the ongoing patterns of educational conduct.

The innovations cannot be treated as entities which exist outside their social use. Reforms are made a part of social situations in which people have hopes, desires and interests, and in which institutional contexts

structure actions. Programs interact with the routines and beliefs of schools, sometimes providing surface changes but leaving the underlying interpretive rules unchallenged.

Attempts to introduce a comprehensive school system in Sweden illustrate the resiliency of institutions towards reform efforts. Between 1940 and 1971, Sweden undertook to develop a comprehensive school system which would institute curriculum practices and an organisational framework that would 'contribute to social justice by making education available to all regardless of social background' (Kallos and Lundgren 1979, p. 98). As a part of this commitment, the 'gymnasium', 'continuation' and 'vocational' schools were combined into one school form. In addition, curriculum innovations were proposed to develop a more integrative approach to instruction — one which included team-teaching of subject-matter and the redefinition of the role of teacher as a 'facilitating and understanding agent'.

The intent of the Swedish reform was never implemented. Curriculum developers did not consider the need to relate the organisational frameworks to the content of the curriculum. The politics of governmental agencies, administrative professional groups and teacher belief systems produced a situation in which the 'old' curriculum routines were brought into the new comprehensive high schools. Teachers emphasised traditional subjects and recitation patterns. Further, they adapted to the heterogeneous groups in the comprehensive school in ways that did not challenge the dominant ideology of students as 'passive receptacles' which receive content. The new curriculum was intended to provide forms of individualisation to deal with individual differences and variety; teachers redefined that interest to conform to old expectations. They omitted parts of the curriculum, lowered goals and formed remediation groups. A teaching category 'remediation teacher' was invented to handle those individuals who did not meet the predefined standards and goals. The comprehensive school plan to create a series of options for teachers and students did not materialise.

As with the Swedish case, an extensive reform in the British Isles sought a redefinition of high school instruction through the development of an integrated science curriculum which unified physics, chemistry and biology into a single course of study (Hamilton 1975). The innovation went beyond the course content. The planners sought to introduce a discovery method which relied upon students learning through research. In addition, multiple forms of evaluation were to be used to ascertain student attitudes, interests and skills as well as their acquisition of knowledge.

When the integrated curriculum was introduced into two Scottish schools, David Hamilton suggests it was transformed: 'its wisdom [was] filtered through the organisational structure of the school, science department and classrooms' (Hamilton 1975, p. 194). At the district level, teachers were differentiated in a manner which maintained assumptions in opposition to the intention of this curriculum. Teachers with graduate level training, for example, were paid higher salaries and received promotions to head departments. Within the schools, various decisions were made which helped to rigidify instruction. For example, a memo was drafted in one of the Scottish schools which provided a precise schedule by which the content should be taught. A consequence of the memo was the pro-

duction of a uniform pacing and patterning of the curriculum. Teachers who shared science equipment continued the patterning by restricting usage to certain times. Further, test schedules were devised by departments which relied solely upon multiple-choice questions. Hamilton concludes that while the teacher is important in the selective amplifying and transmitting of knowledge, his or her influence is not limitless. It is bounded by a series of intervening institutional constraints.

Similar experiences of intervening institutional constraints can be found in the United States with the development of the new curriculum projects in the 1960s (Goodlad, Klein and Frances 1970; Sarason 1971). Many of the new science materials, for example, were put into the closets of classrooms, and are yet to be unwrapped. Teachers of the 'new maths' tended to use the materials in ways that continued the same teaching strategies and presentation of content found in the 'old maths'. The intent to instill excitement, adventure and intellectual curiosity into school programs never materialised as the new curriculum was integrated into the ongoing activities of schools.

The irony of many educational reforms is that the program that is intended to challenge institutional characteristics is transformed so that it conserves existing beliefs and patterns (Popkewitz 1975, 1978). The legitimising function of reform can be understood by focusing on the nature of slogan systems. To talk about individualisation, discovery approaches or participation is to provide a symbol which condenses a variety of emotions and values into a single word or set of words. A slogan (for example 'individualisation') works in education in a manner similar to the function of a slogan in the political world. A word such as *democracy* or *national security* provides a way of symbolising the values and aspirations of a group. Slogans, however, do not tell us what is actually proposed. In some cases, the slogan does accurately express and compress the meanings of the potential actions. In other cases, the slogan obscures the concrete actions and motives of the people involved. For example, federal medical insurance in America may provide greater benefits to the doctors who participate than to the poor who are publicly its beneficiaries. Reform in this instance produces an aura of change that enhances the position of those who give direction to and gain from the existing organisation of social affairs. Reform can be a symbolic act that conserves rather than changes.

The idea of community participation in the American 'War on Poverty' is an example of the legitimisation of existing practices through slogan systems. The intention of the 1960s reforms in welfare, economic, educational and political agencies was to provide the poor with power over the decisions that affected their lives and their community. The poor distrusted professionals and felt alienated and disenfranchised. It was reasoned that active participation would have structural effects upon the distribution of community power and produce psychological effects that would eliminate the dependency associated with poverty. Actually, we find that most agencies were organised to limit participation to an advisory level (Rose 1972). Procedures were developed which enabled the agencies to expand their existing programs and to provide mechanisms which involved community representatives in 'selling' the very program that was

to be changed. Existing programs were viewed as the target of change in few agencies.

In the same way, American efforts to improve the quality of education in poor communities often result in making existing programs seem reasonable yet 'different'. For example, the purpose of the Teacher Corps, an agency of the US Department of Education, is to increase educational opportunities for those who have suffered economically and socially. The very manner in which the projects are funded and monitored, however, helps to maintain an organisational bias which favours those who already have power to define educational policy — those with power in the school systems. In one American Indian Teacher Corps project, for example, schools were to enter into shared decision making with local community representatives (Popkewitz 1975). Further, the project included American Indian aides to work in schools. These activities, though, were given particular meanings by the staffs of the schools. The school was perceived as a moralising agency and the moral system in operation was that of the white community. The teachers saw 'reform' as eliminating pathological qualities in American Indian community life. The rituals of participation in the program helped to enlist community support.

A characteristic of schooling is the tendency of professional groups to protect and expand their prerogatives (Bledstein 1976, Lasch 1979). In many instances, professionals serve the needs invented by the experts rather than those expressed by the clients. Moral causes, such as temperance and restrictions against masturbation, for example, were made professional responsibilities as they were socially redefined as medical problems. Such expanding professional mandates are legitimised through carefully established spaces, rituals and ceremonies that set apart, regulate and control specific domains of social life. The helping professions, in particular, have used scientific technology and language to create a sense of awe among their clients and a sense of power among practitioners. The culture of professionalism, some argue, has undermined the capacity of individuals to provide for themselves while justifying the experts' expansion into and control of new sectors of society.

Studies of schooling tend to suggest that professionals use their power to conserve and expand their control and to resist changes in power relationships. The decentralisation fights in New York City in the late 1960s and 1970s, for example, reflected the desire of teacher and administrative groups to prevent lay involvement in certain 'teacher domains'. Becker's (1952) study of parent involvement in Chicago schools reported that teachers tended to react to the problem of parent involvement in ways that preserved their own control and status in the institution. Much of the bureaucratisation of schooling in recent years has tended to further legitimise professional expertise at the expense of lay involvement. The use of technical language, increased specialisation and greater hierarchical differentiation of school personnel, make the work of teaching seem more esoteric and thus less amenable to outside intervention.

As the previous research indicates, schools contain systems of thought, action and privilege which resist efforts for change. Efforts to change can become slogans and rituals. The rituals create an illusion that the school is responding to its constituency while the needs and interests actually

being served are those already embedded in the structures of the school. Reform efforts, therefore, must continually be considered in the light of the intention implicit in proposed change strategies and how those strategies are used in institutional arrangements.

Changes in social circumstances

The problem of change becomes more acute in times of social transformation in which existing definitions of community interests are made problematic. Changes in religious affiliations, social relations, economic conditions and state-intervention policies often interrelate in no apparently direct or simple manner. Yet the struggles in any one of these sectors influence the other arenas in ways that can affect the basic values and social visions that give direction to daily life. These conflicts about what is sacred in society become part of pedagogical debates and of the dynamics of schooling itself.

The essential location of schooling in both social transmission and social production should not be surprising. The school's mandate is to prepare youth for the social, cultural and economic life of a society. That 'preparation' is dispositional as well as intellectual. Pedagogy's most fundamental purpose is to guide the formation of consciousness and identity. How the moral character of the individual in school is shaped has significant implications for the vision of society that is to be maintained as well as sustained (Apple 1979, Giroux 1981).

Pedagogical debates do reflect questions about the relationship between school, society and consciousness. Erasmus, Dewey and Bruner, at different times, locate the arguments of the school in broader issues of sociocultural transmission, transformation and the moral character of the polity. It is the irony of many recent definitions of teaching and learning that these issues become a technical problem of management. This contemporary concern with efficiency may obscure and deny the social complexity of schooling, but it does not eliminate the moral or political implications of school work.

These implications are well illustrated by Durkheim's discussion of the use of Christian pedagogy in France, by Hamilton's (1980) discussion of the influence of Adam Smith on the moral economy of the classroom, and by the American curriculum reform movement of the 1960s.

The evolution of pedagogy in France

Durkheim's lectures on the emergence of the French secondary school illustrate the divergent themes of social order and change that underlie the process of schooling (Durkheim 1977). He suggests that institutions are resistant to change, while at the same time are subjected to radical change. Christianity, for example, provided a new purpose and meaning for education. The Christian idea of conversion replaced the idea of education held in antiquity in which the mind was to be decorated with certain ideas and habits. The latter was not concerned with providing a moral environment to envelop the child, or the development of a particular conception of will and purpose whereas the Christian purpose of conversion

was to change the soul in its outlook. The idea of soul created an awareness that underlying the particular conditions of our intelligence and sensibilities are more profound dispositions which determine our overt habits and ideas and which give them a unity.

The development of a Christian education, however, involves its own set of responses and modifications to its social predicament. Durkheim notes at least three distinct characteristics of the changes that occurred over a period of four or five centuries. One is that schooling responds to pressures of larger social conditions as well as internal developments. Education in the Renaissance, for example, included for the first time ideas that defined the mind as emerging within social settings and the belief that society involves a nature that can be known and, if planned correctly, liberated from all restraints. The new beliefs about person and science, found in education, reflected a number of interrelated trends occurring in society: the rise of a bourgeoisie whose status was earned rather than ascribed; the emergence of the nation-state as a contrasting power to Rome; and the development of the polite society which emphasised a humanistic education. The change in pedagogy reflected the pressures brought about by these changes in society.

A second characteristic of the evolution of Christian education in France is that the present never breaks fully with the past. The scholastic educational emphasis on grammar, rhetoric and logic, Durkheim argues, was instituted to define ways of analysing and reaffirming the religious texts. The resulting modes of criticism and questioning laid a foundation for the secularisation of education while they simultaneously treated the religious texts as problematic. This secularisation assumes dominance by the sixteenth century.

Thirdly, divergent themes run through both society and education at any one time. The early church schools rose among the schools of antiquity which stressed the aesthetic value of the individual and the Roman utilitarian view. The Benedictine innovation of including secular studies of literature and intellectual culture in the curriculum was a reaction to the illiteracy produced by the Frankish invasions as well as involving a modification to the Irish monastic teaching. The creation of Jesuit schools was a response to the Reformation and the anti-Catholic orientation of humanism in the university.

In each of these changes and counter-movements, pedagogies were identified whose tasks were deep and profound. The Jesuits, for example, developed individualised modes of instruction that could monitor children's work continuously and subject a student to unrelenting pressures that would build suitable character and habits. The texts of instruction — the intellectual heritage of Greek and Roman cultures — were interpreted in ways that eliminated pagan elements and reinforced the Christian ethos.

The emergence of the classroom system

The relation of changes in social vision and the material world to pedagogy is again illustrated in Hamilton's (1980) discussion of the formation of the modern 'classroom system'. The term 'classroom system' emerges

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It symbolises the creation of group-based pedagogies in which lessons, subjects, timetables, grading, standardisation and streaming become common place in educational practice.

The idea of a 'system' gave reference to a new set of principles that involved the interrelation of philosophical, economic and social practices of the time. The class, like the factory, could be systematised, made rational and controlled in ways similar to those used by science and technology in organising material life. The new definition of system was related both to a redefinition of social relations that occurred concomitantly with the shift from domestic to factory production and to the development of philosophical and social theory about the market relationship of the individual to society.

The basis of the classroom system was a moral economy. The educational reforms in Glasgow drew Adam Smith's ideas about the virtue of economic liberty to provide a way of harmonising self and collective interest. The monitorial system of Bell and later the Lancastrian system of simultaneous instruction gave reference to Smith's belief that education should be guided by sympathy and emulation.

As with changes in French education, the movement to the moral economy of the class system needs to be measured in decades. And, as David Hamilton (1980) argues, the movement did not occur in a straightforward manner or without substantial changes as the ideas were brought into practice. Adam Smith's belief in education guided by sympathy and emulation was to provide for self-improvement and social mobility to the poor through learning the appropriate behaviours and characteristics of those who are successful. Bell redefined emulation to mean competition, and the purpose of the monitorial system was to retain the status quo. Lancastrian pedagogy in contrast, was to provide for a future-oriented technological society based on merit.

The method of group instruction did not evolve directly from the monitorial system. The university system of class instruction devised by Smith's students and successors at the University of Glasgow replaced syllogistic logic with psychology to bring together teaching and assessment. The changes in university instruction transformed the medieval lectures and eventually, school pedagogy. These changes occurred, in part, through a social nexus formed around the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society in which intellectual, educational and business leaders met. The pedagogy also responded to the demands produced by a period of famine, slump and social discontent among workers.

The curriculum reform movement

The United States curriculum reform movement of the 1960s and early 1970s also contains divergent themes of social change and social order. At a surface level, the curriculum movement gives impetus to the 'new' social studies, science and mathematics programs. The programs were publicly initiated to respond to a perceived change in the knowledge base in society and the belief that people can develop a quality of mind that involves understanding the methods, findings and limitations of scientific

knowledge. Jerome Bruner's *The Process of Education* symbolised the belief that such knowledge must be made widely accessible (Bruner 1972). At the same moment, there were calls for greater efficiency in defining and evaluating curriculum. Behavioural objectives, systems analysis, mastery learning and criterion-referenced testing symbolised this second theme of reform. In fundamental ways the 'new' curriculum movement stood in opposition to accountability, contrasting tentativeness and scepticism about knowledge with standardisation and certainty. In the course of curriculum development, the two did not always stand in opposition.

Both strands of reform received support from the United States government. For the first time, the US federal government funded curriculum development and implementation at a national level. In part, the commitment was legitimated by the Soviet sputnik which, many argued, illustrated national educational, as well as technological, limitations.

At a different layer of analysis, the demands for reform can be understood in relation to interests that were emerging in the United States after World War II. These interests were complex and not always in harmony. One important aspect of the post-war society was the changing nature of economic life. In part there was the continual growth of corporate business. The economic change also involved a change in the work place. The workplace was becoming increasingly specialised and labour subdivided into discrete elements that could be efficiently ordered and managed to produce less skilled, and therefore more cost efficient, labour processes. The deskilling process had also begun to move into white-collar and clerical work, as symbolised by the practice of 'word-processing' pools replacing individual secretaries.

At a different end of the deskilling process was the process of professionalisation. In medicine, law, social work, nursing, teaching and psychology there occurred an increasing organisation, rationalisation and specialisation of knowledge. More of institutional life came under the control and definition of professionals whose claim of expertise was built upon scientific knowledge. The professionalisation of social affairs became a national mandate with the Kennedy administration. The belief was that social engineering techniques would solve the most pressing social problems through rational intervention schemes.

The claims of the professional expert must also be considered in relation to the university. Here, the behavioural social scientists had recently gained strength within university departments such as sociology and political science. The behavioural sciences emerged in the 1930s, but it is not until the 1950s that they became a major element in university life. They assumed importance in professional schools within universities as well as with colleges of letters and science. The behavioural tradition replaced, in some instances, the older humanistic traditions of letters and science colleges as the most important intellectual influence on campus. In many cases, the behaviourist and humanistic traditions existed side by side, vying for resources and influence within university life.

The curriculum movement can be accounted for by giving reference to these currents and counter-currents in society. Much curriculum work did reflect the epistemological and social assumptions of behavioural science, professionalisation and shifts in the nature of work (Popkewitz 1977). The curriculum management systems in reading and mathematics, for ex-

ample, maintain a view that knowledge is certain and discrete, that school work is fragmented and that efficiency and order are criteria for excellence. Yet, humanist traditions can be seen to underlie few social studies and science curricula, calling as they do for a quality of mind that entails ambiguity of knowledge, scepticism and emphasis on involvement in group interaction and discourse.

These brief historical examples highlight how the presuppositions and procedures of the school are rooted in the past while at the same time responding to pressures of circumstances, social environments and economic transformations. While institutions are resistant to change, their affairs do involve stress and strains that produce a dynamic for change. To understand change requires an historical perspective in which we can understand the way in which the reasoning and conceptions of human nature underlying pedagogy are modified and revised.

Educational research: change as motion and activity

The irony of our modern day views of change is that they direct our attention away from the dynamics of institutions to the motions and activities of their surface life. The emphasis is on order and stability. A bias is organised in research that legitimates priorities, statuses and privileges within existing institutions. This can be illustrated by examining two approaches to school change.

One of the most important conceptions of change in America has been the centre-to-periphery approach. This approach is most often defined as RDDA: Research is to identify, conceptualise and test ideas; Development is to engineer and package programs for school use; Dissemination is to tell, show and train people about program use; and Adoption is to install programs. The RDDA model and its variations assume that a universal, logical and efficient procedure exists for the definition and organisation of change. It also suggests a neutrality to the change process itself: the problem of change is not to consider the moral or political structure of an institution but to implement a schema of order, precision and clarity.

The research and evaluation enterprise of the centre-to-periphery model involves assessing factors influencing implementation of and impediments to, the change approach. Studies may assess teachers' commitment or burnout, financial resources available and degree of implementation or level of use. The model of science is that research is concerned with an appropriate application of techniques to realise defined goals under given conditions. The purpose of this science of change is to explain, order and analyse the components of a situation without judging their final normative appropriateness.

The model for understanding change is drawn from the empirical-analytic sciences whose purpose is to direct attention to rules whereby social order and stability are achieved (Habermas 1972). The appearance of change created by taxonomies of steps such as RDDA or flow charts does not alter the assumptions or purposes of the science model. The analyses suggest motion and activity within stable and unchanging social systems. The assumptions of stability are substituted for analysis of the dynamics of structural elements of institutional life.

Partially in response to the centralised approach of the RDDA model, recent programs and research efforts have suggested that a 'democratic', local problem-solving approach be used. The problem-solving approach entails people in a situation identifying both the problems and their solutions in efforts for change. Local districts are to identify their needs, because teachers are believed to be closest to the problems and in the best position to suggest remedies for perceived deficiencies.

The emphasis on change seems to direct attention to increased autonomy and responsibility in local situations. But the problem-solving model assumes a procedural and neutral role in the change process. There is an assumption that the discourse of change can be treated independently of the institutional norms, beliefs and patterns in which the language is embedded. The problem-solving approach emphasises the subjective feelings and perceptions of the individual in a situation, but provides no guidance to linking these perceptions to the rules, meanings and power relations that underlie the conditions in which consciousness exists. Again, motion and activity are seen to be synonymous with change.

The centre-to-periphery and problem-solving approaches do have an important similarity. Both take for granted the assumptions and presuppositions that provide the background rules for action. The whole is not seen in relation to its parts, but specific elements seem to exist independently of other elements and the whole. There is a denial of history and an acceptance of system goals. Research itself is viewed as a neutral endeavour. Educational problems are removed from the deep ethical and political choices and are to be solved by technical know-how.

What should be done? Limits and possibilities of the question

The foregoing discussion has focused on the relationship between change and stability. Our language and methods of research have dichotomised these two aspects of social and educational life; yet the two stand in juxtaposition to one another. The conditions of stability contain underlying rules and interpretive schemes that give form to schooling. The 'rules of the game' emerge from both the historical traditions of schooling and the larger socio-cultural interests that impinge on our definitions of schooling. The problem of change is one that exists within those contexts in which people contest the priorities and values of the existing situations, engaging in collective actions that challenge and modify the situations of schooling. It was in the light of these tensions and strains that I spoke of the social predicament of schooling.

The relationship between stability and change requires that we reconsider our notions of causation: movement and change are not linear, sequential or directional processes. Our social conditions contain a host of elements that interact in ways that are never fully specified. Further, to add 'new' elements to situations is to add to the dynamics of those situations in ways that qualitatively as well as quantitatively change them. The development of a 'classroom system' or the French secondary school illustrates the dynamic relationship between specific outcomes of schooling and the interplay of social, cultural, economic, historical and pedagogical elements. To phrase these relationships in the more conventional

language of research is to argue that all elements of a situation are, at the same time, independent *and* dependent variables. Each element is modified as it enters into a social situation in ways that alters not only it relationship with other elements but also its own internal relations.

The political and social dynamics of schooling do not eliminate the question of someone who has to confront classrooms or curriculum problems, 'What shall I do?' It might be reasoned, 'As I am an actor in these work situations, and must seek to act with honesty and integrity, to talk about structure, interest, predicament or stability as larger social and historical issues does not absolve me from the problem of acting and practice'.

The question of 'What should I do' can be considered in at least two different ways. One is what I would call the American response. This is to define all knowledge as having utility. That is, to know about change and stability is to identify specific strategies of practice that will lead to changes in the school program. As the following readings in this book illustrate, such utilitarian reasoning permeates much of our planning about change. Even the word 'change' often suggests a neutrality and disinterest. There is an assumption that there are natural solutions to our given problem and that these solutions are managerial in nature, with precise means for a desired end.

The view of knowledge utilisation must be considered as a particular form of reasoning that, while dominating much of our common beliefs about social life, is only one of many different ways to be reasonable and rational. In considering school affairs, we must reject it for two reasons. One, it actually devalues knowledge by making it subvervient to outcomes. Two, and as illustrated in the following readings, knowledge that is seen as directly useful filters out attention to the social, political and historical complexity of schooling and works as an element of conservatism.

Knowledge about schooling should provide a way of considering the constraints of our pedagogical situation. Our world is continually offered as one of already made customs, traditions and order-to-the-things of daily life. Yet, the natural order is not natural or inevitable, but constructed historically, socially, and with interest. Knowledge and inquiry should enable us to consider the possibilities of our social conditions by making fragile the causality in which we live. To make problematic the necessity of our social situations, not as an order of things, but as outcomes of the collective action of men and women is to make these situations potentially alterable, and amenable to human agency.

The approach of this book is to offer a critical conception of knowledge. This essay and those that follow provide a method of analysis of the concrete situations in which people act in schools. The purpose is to illuminate the human conditions and interests that form the activities of school in particular ways. There is nothing 'natural' about the patterns of school work or the traditions and customs that we have come to associate with its institutional arrangements. Schools are socially constructed, sustained and renewed through the actions of people. These constructions are never neutral: schooling is an imposition of certain patterns of social conditions from the array of those possible at any one time. The principles of autonomy, legitimacy and social order carried in those patterns favour certain groups and handicap others.

By rooting the analysis of change in issues of social and cultural reproduction and transformation, certain fundamental problems arise. First, critical understanding of our social situation involves no direct strategy or procedure for altering conditions. Practice involves political negotiations in which the conflict and struggles of particular situations are worked out. These actions are never presented or drawn from administrative conceptions of the world. To consider the problem of action is to accept humility. The history of 'progress' has always contained its own contradictions. As ideas are brought into the world of human struggles, there are unanticipated and often unwilled consequences.

Second, the issue of social stability and change involves deeply embedded social interests. These interests form an objective constraint on the options available in school. To deal with these issues requires collective action in which dominating interests are confronted. In a democratic, liberal society, this requires public debate about the directions and alternative courses of action possible within public institutions. These issues are not ones that should be resolved solely by a particular occupational group.

This recognition of the limitation of professional prerogative and action, however, does not absolve a principal or teacher from the responsibility to act with greater awareness of the ethical, moral and political choices that underlie school practices. Children do come to school every day. There is an obligation to develop practices that respond to them with integrity and honesty.

The question of change and reform is one of profound and complex social, philosophical and political issues. It involves serious discussion of social order and change and of the diverse themes that run through a society to provide the dynamics of social structure. The question of change is never neutral or solely administrative.

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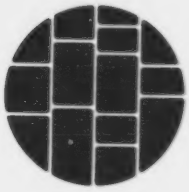
Readings



1 Robert Owen and education: a re-assessment

D. Hamilton

Let us then take every means in our power to interest all those who have weight and influence in the city, to enter heartily into the support and extension of the Lancastrian system of education for the poor, until every child of that class shall find a place in one of the schools. There, in a manner peculiar to the system, they must learn the habits of obedience, order, regularity, industry and constant attention which are to them of more importance than merely learning to read, write and account.

(Robert Owen, Speech to the Lancastrian Society of Glasgow, 1812)[1]

Among the most widely discussed characteristics of the early factory system is the moral character of the masters. Usually the factories are divided into two types - those run by brutal, heartless capitalists who flogged their employees, especially the apprentices, and those run as 'model' communities by humanitarian masters. Empirically, the distinction is valid, if we view the outward behaviour of the capitalists and possibly their psychological make-up. From the standpoint of control of labour, however, both types of factory management display a concern with the enforcement of discipline, which was one of the most salient points of dissatisfaction with the earlier modes of production.

(Neil Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, 1959)[2]

Twentieth-century accounts of Robert Owen's activities at New Lanark between 1800 and 1824 tend to focus preferentially on their radical, progressive and socialist elements.[3] But there is also a recent counter-current in the historiography of Owen - one that regards his philanthropic/benevolent stance merely as a shrewd but profitable 'human relations' approach to capitalist production. Educationists writing about Owen usually hold the first position, while economic historians usually adopt the latter.

The net result is that Owen has become a two-sided figure. To some commentators he is typical of the period, but to others he is remembered for his uniqueness. This essay suggests that a more adequate appraisal of Owen's endeavours at New Lanark requires a better integration of data from economic history and the history of ideas. Overall, it will have served its purpose if it gives credence to the view that Owen's contribution to education is still in need of further investigation.

The historical discovery of Owen dates back to the late nineteenth century when George Holyoake (in a series of writings starting with the *Life and Last Days of Robert Owen*, 1859) annexed Owen's work to his own propaganda in favour of consumers' co-operatives. The Fabians were next to rediscover Owen at the turn of the nineteenth century. Among other things the Fabian reworking produced Frank Podmore's *Robert Owen: A Biography* (1906) and, later, G.D.H. Cole's *Robert Owen* (1925). Podmore's volume remained 'the most useful standard source'[4] until at least 1971; and Cole's work was seminal in that it drew attention to the pivotal importance of Owen's educational ideas.

In the 1960s educationists like Silver, Stewart & McCann, and Simon, added new information to the earlier studies but, like the Fabians, continued to locate Owen within a 'history of ideas'[5] framework (Silver) and continued to present him as a 'progressive'[6] innovator (Stewart & McCann) who worked 'single-handed'[7] (Simon) to translate novel ideas into educational practice. Significantly, none of these educationists attempted to set Owen's work against the peculiar conditions of the early nineteenth-century cotton industry.

Nevertheless, 'discordant elements'[8] in Owen's work had already been noted by Miliband in 1954. They are apparent, too, in the early biographies. Podmore, for instance, noted that while Owen effected a 'marvelous improvement', New Lanark continued to be run as a 'strictly limited monarchy' under the 'most benevolent of despots'.[9] Similarly, Cullen (in *Adventures in Socialism*, 1910) traced 'the inception of modern Socialism' to New Lanark but, at the same time, recorded that Owen's 'first aim' was to secure 'ample dividends to the commercial gentlemen who had invested their capital in the (New Lanark) Company'.[10] And finally, despite repeating Podmore's characterisation of Owen as a 'benevolent despot', G.D.H. Cole still felt able to draw attention to Owen's 'concern' for 'educational freedom'.[11]

In resolving these paradoxes economic historians have tended to be more cautious in their appraisal of Owen. They locate his philanthropy and managerial style (and those of his mill-owning contemporaries) not so much within a democratic progressive tradition as within the monopolistic character and cyclical fortunes of the early nineteenth-century cotton trade. In 1965, for instance, Pollard (Professor of Economic History, University of Sheffield), made a direct connection between philanthropy and profitability:

> The few individuals among the cotton masters who stand out as having a social consciousness regarding their communities were favoured by cheap power, by cheap labour, or by being in the fine spinning trade, in which profits were much higher and conditions of survival much easier.[12]

More recently, Butt (now Professor of Economic History, University of Strathclyde) extended the argument to include the claim that Owen's reforms were, in fact, perfectly consonant with the profit motive. From this standpoint Owen's benevolence was guided as much by economic rationality as by pur-blind emotion. For instance, in providing schooling for young children, not only could Owen draw upon female labour as required, but also raise family incomes without elevating wage-rates (and thereby lowering profitability).[13]

Indeed, Butt went so far as to suggest that Owen's heightened interest in education after 1810 (following almost a decade of apparent inaction) might validly be regarded as a direct response to the industrial unrest that swept Scotland at that time. That is, if other mill owners sought to stamp out disaffection by operating lockouts and blacklists (see below), Owen sought industrial control and re-direction through more effective management.

Whatever the status of these claims by economic and political historians, they have rarely received the critical attention of educationists. The accounts of the latter, therefore, suffer not so much from inaccuracy as from myopia. Two systematic defects can be discerned. First, an over-emphasis upon aspects of Owen's work that are thought to prefigure the present; and secondly, an excusable over-reliance (in the absence of other data) upon the chronology and post hoc explanations provided in Owen's autobiography.

The remainder of this essay, then, offers an enlarged view of Owen. Parts 1 and 2 focus on the systematic weaknesses described above. Parts 3 to 5 investigate Owen's latency period; scrutinise his originality as an innovator; and re-examine the dispute that led to Owen's departure from New Lanark. Part 6 provides an overview of the main conclusions.

1. The Present in the Past

A good example of 'presentism' in the historiography of Owen occurs in Margaret Cole's *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (1954). In the introduction to that work Owen was credited with pioneering all kinds of welfare-state ideas. With respect to education Cole claimed the following:

> Owen was the first to demand, and to set up nursery schools, the first to recognise the important function of play in education, and the first to suggest that school teachers should be trained for their work, if necessary by the state.[14]

In elaborating her argument Cole played down the apparently conservative aspects of Owen's work. They are de-coupled from the rest of his life. The net result is an account of Owen that bears only a tenuous relationship to the epoch in which he lived. Indeed, Cole underlined Owen's other-worldliness when she ascribed his originality to 'prescience'.[15] Like Pollard's claim that Owen was 'a man far ahead of his time',[16] Cole's appeal to 'prescience' is as unsatisfactory as it is ahistorical.

Another instance where Owen's twentieth-century reputation overrides other considerations occurs in Stewart & McCann's *The Educational Innovators* (1967). The authors' concern to locate Owen within the 'progressive tradition' tended to presume what it set out to demonstrate. Insofar as they regarded 'progressive', 'experimental' and 'radical' as educational synonyms,[17] Stewart & McCann were able to draw a theoretical mask over some of Owen's less progressive characteristics (for example, his autocratic managerial style). Owen may have been an innovator, but not all innovations are educationally radical.

Stewart & McCann's enthusiasm for Owen's work - 'an astonishing innovation in the education of the working class'[18] - created a further discrepancy in their analysis. For their summary of the New Lanark 'innovations' they relied upon Owen's autobiography and included, therefore, the 'introduction'[19] of music into the curriculum. Seven pages earlier, however, they had already noted that David Dale (Owen's predecessor) had (sporadically) employed a music master in the 1790s.[20]

2. Owen's autobiography

As the foregoing example indicates, Owen's autobiography - published in 1858 - is a suspect historical source. But its weakness relates not so much to its factual content as to the fact that Owen, like his biographers, re-interpreted events in the light of experience. Thus, historical accounts of Owen and New Lanark which rely on the autobiography have been doubly refracted - once by the circumstances of Owen's later life and once by the circumstances of his biographers (for example, nineteenth-century Owenites, twentieth-century Fabians, late twentieth-century progressives). In his autobiography,

Owen offers a humanistic, communitarian, progressive account of his days at New Lanark; and it is the same traits that have appealed to educationists. But it does not necessarily follow that Owen's popular appeal between 1800 and 1825 derived from the same factors. Nor, indeed, that Owen had acted during those years for the same reasons that he adduced in 1858.

Nevertheless, it is important to reaffirm that there is no evidence in Owen's autobiography of conscious fabrication or intentional distortion. Rather, the account is misleading in a more subtle way. It is reasonable to assume that, during his managership at New Lanark, Owen's activities were shaped by all kinds of factors. These would include the state of the cotton industry, the availability of labour and the general political climate. In each instance, then, Owen weighed up a wide range of pros and cons before deciding on a course of action. Thus, the reasons given in his autobiography may, in truth, have been influential. But other, unreported factors may also have played a part. Here are two such instances: both relate to labour shortages.

In common with many other water-powered mills, New Lanark was in a relatively remote part of Scotland. When David Dale opened it in 1786, he faced a chronic labour shortage which, in part, was solved by importing orphan/pauper 'apprentices' from places like Glasgow and Edinburgh. Owen became manager in 1800 and, thereafter, gradually dispensed with the services of the unattached apprentices and replaced them with women and children from the factory community that grew up alongside the mill.

According to Cullen, Owen found the apprenticeship system 'distasteful'.[21] This may have been the case but it was also recognised to be more expensive than a system of 'free' child labour. Pauper children were taken on for a fixed period of years and, during that time, were supposed to be housed, fed, clothed, and instructed by the factory owners. The problem with pauper labour was that in times of slump it had to be maintained, whereas surplus 'free' labour could be dismissed.[22]

Labour shortages also provide an alternative explanation of Owen's behaviour during the four-month

shutdown of the New Lanark mill in 1806. Owen kept on the workers and paid out over seven thousand pounds in wages. Cullen ascribed Owen's decision to 'generosity',[23] which Podmore had more cautiously described as 'wise generosity'.[24] Arguably, Owen's action was simply a calculated economic risk. The shutdown arose from an American embargo on cotton exports which, in turn, distorted the market. Rather than pay inflated prices, the British owners (who held a virtual monopoly on factory production) decided to run down their existing stocks and wait for normal supplies to resume. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to suggest that seven thousand pounds may have been a small price to pay - especially when set against future profits. Certainly, it was a small price to pay for the retention of a well-trained, well-disciplined and, henceforth, well-contented labour force.[25]

In these terms it is difficult to assess Owen's generosity - especially since there is (as yet) little evidence of the stance adopted by other mill owners. On the other hand, there is good evidence that mills in outlying areas (like New Lanark) suffered chronic labour problems at this time. In *An Economic History of Scotland* (1975) Lythe and Butt note that 'despite elaborate social provision' labour turnover in the early years of the nineteenth century reached 'staggering proportions'. In support of their argument they cite evidence from the Newton Stewart (Kirkcudbright) mill. By August 1801 the mill had lost nearly 35 per cent of the workforce that had been present twelve months earlier and a further 10 per cent who had joined and left during the course of the year.[26] Given these circumstances and the general problem of labour discipline in the industrial revolution, Owen's activities in the first decade of the nineteenth century could be regarded as much those of a profit-conscious businessman as those of a benevolent philanthropist.

3. Owen's Latency Period

Owen's autobiography has also been more generally misleading about his early years at New Lanark. The received view - supported by the autobiography - is that Owen came to Scotland with his educational ideas fully formed and that, therefore, his relative inactivity

between 1800 and 1813 (his entry into partnership with a group of well-known philanthropists) derives, in G.D.H. Cole's terms, from the 'interference'[27] of his early partners. The latter part of this argument has substance - the terms of the 1813 partnership (and Owen's improved financial position) provided considerable managerial freedom. But the early part merits reconsideration. The received view gained further support from Podmore who wrote:

> It is to be remarked that his first years at New Lanark shut him off to a great extent from such intercourse with educated men as he had enjoyed in Manchester.[28]

And, fifty years later, Margaret Cole repeated the same argument:

> During the fourteen years after (Owen) had left Manchester his mind had been working almost entirely in intellectual isolation . . . it is exceedingly doubtful whether during that period he talked with anyone who could as it were rub his intellectual nose.[29]

The implication of these arguments is that Owen's social ideas remained in a state of suspended animation for over a decade. This is highly unlikely. Just as Owen was an active member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in the 1790s, so he was probably a member of the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society in the 1800s (and certainly presented papers in 1815 and 1818[30]). Moreover, as part-proprietor and manager of one of the largest cotton mills in Britain, and as a producer whose goods were sold all over the world, it is not unreasonable to assume that Owen was more worldly-wise than some of his biographers have imagined.

To understand more fully Owen's actions (and inactions) between 1800 and 1813 it is necessary to take a closer look at the economic, intellectual and political context of New Lanark. Specifically, it is important to examine the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment, the changing fortunes of the cotton trade and, not least, the industrial relations of the epoch.

It is well-known and widely accepted by educationists that Owen broke with the monitorial system after 1812. Although he accepted its cheapness and relative efficiency, he came to recognise that it was an insufficient mechanism for disciplining the minds of the learners. The monitorial system claimed to inculcate piety; Owen wanted to instill character. The causes of Owen's reconsideration are, as implied, likely to have been various, but the form and content of his educational innovations indicate the influence of Scottish philosophical and educational thought. As Harrison has suggested, therefore, the starting point of Owen's social theories was 'not Manchester but Scotland'.[31]

The task of pinning down the connection is difficult, since Owen made few explicit references to his sources, and claimed to have read very little during that time. But to a man who moved easily in commercial and intellectual circles there was no need, then or now, to do much reading.

Owen's general achievement, as Harrison has pointed out in *Robert Owen and the Owenites* (1969), was to harness a cluster of eighteenth-century ideas about reason, nature, and the potency of human action to the substance and consequences of the industrial revolution. The particular contribution of the Scottish Enlightenment to Owen's educational ideas seems to have taken two forms: a pedagogical theory of the schoolroom and a psychological theory of group processes. The immediate source of these notions, as shown below, was probably the new teaching methods adopted in certain departments of the Scottish universities.

Medieval pedagogic influences lasted well into eighteenth-century Scotland. Students were taught via formalised Latin lectures (or 'dictates') and their learning, accordingly, was a predominantly passive affair. During the middle of the century students increasingly began to receive instruction couched in the vernacular and delivered by more extempore methods. The overall intention (if not the result) of the reforms was to create a more active pedagogic discipline - one that took shape as an 'easy dialogue', between the lecturer and 'not more than thirty or forty' students.[32]

A further important feature of this new pedagogy was that teaching and assessment were brought much closer together. The formalised disputation was abandoned and teachers began to question students during the course of the lectures (as well as on separate occasions). These procedures - a precursor of simultaneous instruction - were explicitly designed to maintain the constant attention of all the members of the class.

Thus, there is a marked similarity between the methods adopted in the universities and the 'familiar' lectures given to 'classes of about forty to fifty'[33] at New Lanark after 1812. It is not yet clear whether Owen transposed these ideas directly from the universities, or whether he drew them from the general educational melting-pot of the day.[34] Certainly, he claimed to have been on 'most friendly terms' with the Glasgow professors, mentioning the major publicist for the new methods, George Jardine, by name.[35] On the other hand, Jardine does not appear to have made any reciprocal acknowledgement of Owen. But, even if Owen did not learn of the new methods from Jardine's immediate circle, it is just as plausible that he learned of them in the wider intellectual networks of the day (for example, the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society).

The group psychology that Owen took on board with his pedagogy derived not only fron continental materialists like Helvetius but also from Scottish moral philosophers like Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith. If Helvetius gave Owen the notion - expressed in 1814 - that the 'character of man is . . . always formed for him',[36] the latter group provided the important rider that the 'ideas and habits' which 'govern and direct (man's) conduct' are created and transmitted not in nature but in society.[37]

During the early years of the nineteenth century, then, it is quite possible that Owen moved beyond the individualistic notions of the continental philosophers (who still took Rousseau's *Emile* as the paradigmatic educational relationship[38]) and, under the direct influence of the Scottish Enlightenment, began to claim the importance of group dynamics to the conduct of society in general and schooling in particular.

The kind of group teaching described above was, therefore, as much an ideological response to the Scottish Enlightenment as it was a practical response to the immediate context of New Lanark. Owen believed that group teaching was superior to the conventional method of individualised instruction. In a phrase used by Owen's son, grouping would foster an atmosphere of 'friendly emulation'[39] that, in turn, would carry forward the weaker members of the group. Further, such group teaching was also a practical demonstration of the fact that, as in society, there was (in Owen's words) a 'clear and inseparable connection between the interest and happiness of each individual and the interest and happiness of every other individual'.[40]

These two rationalisations of class teaching point to the source of Owen's ideas. The 'happiness' quotation demonstrates the general influence of utilitarian thought; the rhetoric of 'friendly emulation', as shown below, links Owen to a peculiarly Scottish strain of utilitarianism.

A general feature of utilitarian thought is the 'identity of interests' thesis - that all humans operate with the same scale of values. In *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (1928) Halevy has argued that, on the basis of their different social origins, three variants of the 'identity of interests thesis can be distinguished: (1) the thesis of the 'natural' identity of interests presumes that the interests of individuals are harmonised via the operation of 'natural' (i.e. market) forces; (2) the thesis of the 'artificial' identity of interests assumes that harmonisation occurs through the intervention of legislators; and (3) the thesis of the 'fusion' of interests assumes that the identification of personal and general interest can obtain spontaneously through the psychological phenomena of 'sympathy' and 'fellow feeling'.

In fact, Halevy places Owen among those, like Godwin, who believed in the 'artificial' identification of interests (and the power of education to bring about such harmonisation). But it is also the case that the 'friendly emulation' statement is consonant with the 'fusion of interests' thesis which, as Halevy notes, owes much to thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment (such as Hutcheson, Hume and Smith).[41]

From the foregoing evidence it is a reasonable hypothesis that Owen's thinking between 1800 and 1812 did not so much stagnate as undergo a subtle but pedagogically important realignment - one that left Owen more readily disposed to the kinds of practices adopted in the Scottish universities. But shifts in thinking are not enough to explain changes in pedagogic practice: the will to change is one thing, the capacity to change is something else. In Owen's case, the general economic buoyancy of the cotton trade during the Napoleonic Wars was a second factor that influenced his educational behaviour before and after 1810.

Butt has estimated that, between 1810 and 1814, the average return on Owen's capital was 46 per cent, whereas before and after that time it was only 15 per cent.[42] This profit not only enabled Owen to renegotiate various debts; it also gave him sufficient social credit to move easily in London society and sufficient commercial credit to attract, as trading partners, Bentham and other wealthy financier-philanthropists. Further, deployment of the residual profits of the New Lanark mill (that is, the portion remaining after the partnership obligations had been met) was, after 1813, left to the initiative of Owen. The 'fat' years after 1810 helped, no doubt, towards overcoming the resistance of Owen's partners and, in turn, towards the completion of the New Institute for the Formation of Character (begun by 1809 and opened in 1816).

Finally, the view that Owen's innovations were simply delayed after 1800 also fails to take account of the changing climate of industrial relations. In 1810-11, for instance, the Glasgow mill owners were troubled by an upsurge of unrest among their operatives. The operatives had (legally) established a (Friendly) Society of Operative Cotton Spinners in 1810 but, in the eyes of the owners, were illegally using its funds to support members who, the owners claimed, had been sacked for 'drunkenness, irregularity of attendance and other misdemeanors.'[43] The full details of these events have, it seems, not been researched or published but the tone of the employers' arguments suggests that the sackings (and the violence they provoked) took place at a time of surplus labour and were part of a widespread (if shortlived) decline in the living standards of the mill workers.

The issue of living standards also erupted the following year in the shape of the 'great weavers strike' which, supported from Aberdeen to Carlisle, lasted for twelve weeks. The handloom weavers had earlier petitioned parliament for the establishment of a minimum wage. But, according to Smout's *A History of the Scottish People* (1969), their efforts had fallen on 'stony ground'.[44] The formation of a union was the weavers' response; and the 1912 strike followed an unsuccessful attempt to establish the regulation of wages in Glasgow. The strike was finally broken when the leaders of the Glasgow Committee were sentenced to prison terms ranging from four to eighteen months.

The events of 1810 and 1812 mark an important change in the social climate. The over-supply of labour - particlarly in the urban-located steam-powered mills - and the attendant increased exploitation of the textile workers created a volatile political situation. Owen's response to these developments was to blame them on the manufacturing system which, he claimed in 1815, had fostered a 'gross ferocity of character' among the labouring classes that 'sooner or later' would 'plunge the country into a formidable and perhaps inextricable state of danger'.[45]

As the Napoleonic wars came to a close, these problems were further exacerbated: a small localised surplus of 'hands' turned into a national reserve army of discontented able-bodied labour. These historically unprecedented developments gave a new edge to discussions about social control and reform. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Owen's nineteenth-century audience (unlike his twentieth-century biographers) paid rather less attention to his philosophical musings and rather more attention to his diagnoses and remedies. They, like Owen, believed that the 'direct object' was 'to effect the amelioration and avert to danger'.[46]

In 1815, Owen advanced the following proposals: (1) that the hours and conditions of factory employment should be regulated; and (2) that children should demonstrate competence in the three R's before being admitted to factory labour. Owen believed these policies would be beneficial to all parties - 'to the child, to the parent, to the employer and to the country'.[47] But insofar as

Owen's audience was drawn from the economic and political elites of British society - copies were sent to all members of both houses of parliament - it is the arguments directed towards the investing and employing classes that presumably carried the most weight.

Owen used a language that the elites understood; he appealed to their pockets as well as to their hearts. To the employers, for instance, he claimed that children who had been 'best taught' not only made the 'best servants', but were also 'the most easily directed to do everything that was right and proper'. And to the tax-payers he reported that any increase in prices caused by improvements in working conditions would be more than offset by a diminution in the 'poors-rates'.[48]

In 1817, Owen turned from the problem of factory exploitation to the problem of post-war unemployment. As noted earlier, the impact of this problems was more widely recognised. It directly affected not just employers but everyone responsible for poor relief. Owen's solution was that the able-bodied poor should be placed in self-supporting residential establishments accommodating around 1,000 persons. He claimed that every part of society would be 'essentially benefited' by such means: the 'deep distress' of the manufacturing and labouring poor would be 'relieved'; and the need for charity and poor-rates would be overcome 'in one generation'.[49]

The philosophic, economic and political circumstances described above pass virtually unmentioned in Owen's autobiography. Their absence, of course, adds invisible support to Owen's claim that, 'unfettered by partners and ignorant prejudices', he would have transformed New Lanark in 'two years' (rather than sixteen).[50] A closer look at the historical record, however, suggests otherwise. In short, when Owen went to New Lanark he was under-capitalised - both financially and intellectually - for the kind of future that the industrial revolution was to force upon him.

4. Owen as Innovator

Owen's self-presentation as someone who worked unremittingly against the ignorance, opposition and incompetence of others is, as widely noted, a marked

characteristic of his autobiography. It is a view that Owen projected beyond his partners to such important collaborators as Peter Drinkwater (who gave Owen his first job as manager of a large cotton mill in Manchester), David Dale (original owner of New Lanark) and James Buchanan (the superintendent of the New Lanark school from 1815-1818). Closer examination, however, suggests that Owen's success was rather more directly tied to the sponsorship and assistance of these men than he was prepared to admit. In a more general sense, a study of Owen's collaborators also provides further clues as to the source of his ideas and, more important, to the ways in which they resonated with contemporary conditions.

Owen described Drinkwater as 'totally ignorant of everything connected with cotton spinning'.[51] This was true to an extent: Drinkwater (like Dale) made his initial fortune as a middleman rather than a cotton yarn manufacturer. Nevertheless, in 1879 Drinkwater erected the first cotton mill in Manchester powered by a rotary steam engine. Further, Chaloner's twentieth-century judgment is that Drinkwater was a 'quick learner',[52] a man who readily appreciated, for instance, that the production of fine (i.e. more profitable) yarn presumed the existence of machinery that could work at an even tempo. Indeed, Chaloner even goes as far as to suggest that some of Owen's later success in yarn production derives from the knowledge he inherited from Drinkwater's own innovations.

Owen's judgment on Dale was that he paid insufficient attention to the welfare of the work-force. Again, recent research (by McLaren) suggests otherwise - that Dale was amongst the most innovative owners of his time, particularly with regard to the provision of schooling at New Lanark.[53] Dale, it should be recognised, was not alone in providing (evening) schooling for his pauper apprentices. But the unusually extensive, well-established, and closely regulated curriculum at New Lanark presumably owed something to Dale's wealth as a banker, his experience as Director of the Town's Hospital (that is, charity workhouse) of Glasgow and his calvinist convictions as a leader of the Old Scots Independents. Such schooling - with its division of the children into classes, its fortnightly examinations and its specification in writing of how far the teachers were to

'carry forward their scholars' - drew the same kind of attention as Owen's later experiments.[54] In 1792, the *Annual Register* described Dale as 'this extraordinary man';[55] In 1796, the Manchester Board of Health included New Lanark in its survey of factory schooling; and between 1796 and 1798 visitors to New Lanark included Henry Brougham, Robert Owen, Andrew Bell and Professor (Dugald) Stewart, all of whom, then or later, showed a special interest in education and schooling.[56]

Owen described James Buchanan as a 'simple-minded kind-hearted' man who, upon his appointment as teacher at New Lanark could 'scarcely read, write, or spell'.[57] An alternative biography, prepared by Buchanan's grand-daughter, suggests a more worldly-wise man who, besides being a weaver, had also served in the Milita (Home Guard) during the Napoleonic wars.[58] The family evidence, together with Rusk's claim that Buchanan was/had been a lay preacher in the Primitive Methodists[59] would, if true, cast doubt on Owen's appraisal of Buchanan's literacy. In the early nineteenth century, both weaving and lay preaching were associated with relatively high levels of self-education, certainly to the level of being able to read.

Owen also indicated that he spent a considerable amount of time inducting Buchanan into the work of the school. The Buchanan family records claim otherwise - that Buchanan was merely left to his own devices. Again, the Buchanan evidence, if true, would imply that the early methods followed at New Lanark owe as much to Buchanan as they do to Owen. But what was the source of Buchanan's ideas? One possibility is that Buchanan had already come into contact with new modes of teaching in the sabbath schools of the dissenting sects. Indeed, it may have been this experience, coupled with Buchanan's 'tractable and willing' disposition, that drew Owen's attention to him in the first place.[60]

5. Owen's departure from New Lanark

Explanations for Owen's departure from New Lanark generally point to the work of one of Owen's partners, the Quaker William Allen. Owen's criticism of established religion and the 'liberal modes of natural instruction'[61] followed at New Lanark are usually cited

as the main bones of contention. The first of these is certainly plausible - even before signing the original partnership agreement, Allen had been concerned to establish that only the Holy Scriptures (that is, no sectarian texts) would be used at New Lanark.[62] And even after the agreement was signed Allen worried repeatedly about Owen's 'infidel principles' and their impact upon the school.[63]

The matter of 'liberal modes of instruction', however, does not figure in Allen's memoirs. He merely notes that, in 1823 (when matters were coming to a head), a visit by himself and two other partners led to the conclusion that New Lanark should be put under the 'control of the London parties'.[64] Owen claims that Allen's objections to the inclusion of music, dancing and military discipline in the New Lanark curriculum[65] stemmed from Allen's convictions as a Quaker. But even if this was the case (which is doubtful), it still does not explain why Allen finally chose to act against Owen in 1823.

A more reasonable precipitating factor stems not so much from Allen's religious views as from his standpoint as a businessman: Allen's first formal action against Owen - the calling of an extraordinary meeting of the partners - dates from 21st August 1822. Allen's purpose, as described in a letter to Bentham, was that the meeting should consider the 'propriety' of purchasing some of Owen's shares and of 'making regulations for the future conduct'[66] of New Lanark.

One reason for Allen's actions could be that, in the summer of 1822, he had first learned that the New Lanark mill had made a trading loss in 1821. 1822 was also the year that the expenses of the New Institution reached a maximum of one thousand three hundred and ninety four pounds, having risen from five hundred and six pounds in 1817. The cash book for the New Institution also reveals that the amount recorded for 'sundries' in 1822 (four hundred and seventy two pounds) was more than four times the amount for any previous year. Further, the years after 1820 also show a substantial variation in the amount spent on 'clothing': five pounds was spent in 1820 and an average of one hundred and eighty two pounds per annum between 1821 and 1823 (inclusive).[67]

All these facts suggest that Allen's disquiet may also have been prompted by economic factors. From this viewpoint Allen objected not so much to Owen's methods as to the financial burden they placed upon the company.

Such an interpretation accords with the terms renegotiated by Allen in 1824. Among other things, dancing was no longer to be taught at the expense of the company.[68] Normal dress (instead of uniforms) was to be resumed, and Catherine Vale Whitwell, who was paid nearly twice as much as the next highest paid teachers, was to be dismissed from her artist-in-residence position.[69] It seems likely, then, that changes in the economic climate rather than changes in Allen's educational viewpoint, were the immediate cause of the crisis among the partners. When profits were high, Owen had been able to deflect any ideological objections to his innovations. But the combination of an ideological and an economic crisis finally made the gulf between Owen and his partners unbridgeable.

6. Robert Owen: A Man of his Time

The opening paragraphs of this essay raised doubts about the conventional, view of Robert Owen's educational work at New Lanark. With the aid of information not accessible to many of the earlier commentators, the remainder of the essay offers a revised interpretation. Two thrusts of the argument merit restatement. First, that Owen's innovations at New Lanark were perfectly compatible with the economic and political logic of capitalist production. And secondly, that the New Lanark innovations were not so much triggered by Owen's 'prescience' or 'humanity'[70] as by the particular set of ideological and material circumstances that came together in that place.

Owen's work at New Lanark was, therefore, the expression of an inheritance. He took the political belief, derived from Calvin and Knox, that investment in schooling was an essential element in the creation of piety and social virtue. He added the social-psychological notion, derived from the Scottish Enlightenment, that durable forms of schooling would follow from pedagogies that stressed group methods and pupil understanding. And he built upon David Dale's experiments in factory-, school- and pauper-management.

Thereafter, Owen invested his intellectual legacy in the cotton trade which, in its uneven development between 1810 and 1816, yielded both new problems to tackle and new resources (that is, super-profits) to apply.

It was these factors, intersecting with Owen's biography, that created the peculiar character of New Lanark. It is not so much, therefore, his ideas that should be remembered as his capacity to put them into practice. Owen's tenure (and efforts) as manager of New Lanark coincided with the accumulation of great surplus wealth. A significant proportion of that wealth was not returned directly to the partners but, rather, reinvested in the general workings of the New Lanark Community. Such reinvestment had an important qualitiative consequence. It enabled Owen to reshape the educational practices of working-class schooling. The net result was a pedagogic amalgam which, under the pressure of new constraints and new opportunites, underwent constant redefinition. It is not surprising, therefore, that twentieth-century commentators have produced contrasting representations of Rober Owen. In a very real sense most, if not all, are correct. In the course of his twenty-five years at New Lanark, Owen prefigured all kinds of educational futures. But even as we celebrate these futures, it is perhaps worth remembering the context that fostered them. To credit Owen with visionary powers or innate propensities is not only to misconstrue his work, it is also to devalue his undoubted achievements.

NOTES

1 R. Owen, Speech to the Lancastrian Society of Glasgow; reported in *The Glasgow Herald*, May 4th, 1812.

2 N.J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1959), p. 105.

3 See, for instance, B. Simon (ed.), *The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain* (London, 1972); W.A.C. Stewart & P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880* (London, 1967) and S. Castles & W. Wustenberg, *The Education of the Future: an Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Socialist Education* (London, 1979).

4 J.F.C. Harrison, 'A new view of Mr. Owen', in S. Pollard & J. Salt (eds.), *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor* (London, 1977), p. 2.

5 H. Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, (London, 1965), p. 13ff.

6 W.A.C. Stewart & P. McCann, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

7 B. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870* (London, 1960), p. 193.

8 R. Miliband, 'The politics of Robert Owen', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1954, 15, p. 233. Miliband further comments that Owen's undoubted contribution to the development of Socialist doctrine in Britain should be set against his cautious and conservative approach to the politics of his own day, and to politics in general. For this reason, if no other, it is important to distinguish between Owen's ideas and Owenite ideas.

9 F. Podmore, *Robert Owen: a Biography* (London, 1906), pp. 82, 169.

10 A. Cullen, *Adventures in Socialism* (Glasgow, 1910), pp. 86, 29. It should be noted that Cullen, like many of his contemporaries, used 'socialism' more as an antonym of 'individualism' than of 'capitalism'.

11 G.D.H. Cole, *Robert Owen* (London, 1925), pp. 13, 155. Cole also reports that Owen's fame at New Lanark rested upon a claim, if not a demonstration, that 'philanthropy could be made to pay' (p. 14). For a general consideration of 'benevolence as investment' see O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 1-7.

12 S. Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management* (London, 1965), p. 91.

13 J. Butt, 'Robert Owen of New Lanark: his critique of British Society', in J. Butt & I.F. Clarke (eds.), *The Victorians and Social Protest* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 22.

14 M. Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (London, 1953), p. 1.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

16 S. Pollard, 'Introduction' to S. Pollard & J. Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, p. VIII. The fact that British educational historians have little experience of handling ideas from economic history can be matched by the uneven handling of ideological influences by economic historians.

17 W.A.C. Stewart & P. McCann, *op.cit.*, p. vix. See also the criticism in H. Silver, 'Aspects of neglect: the strange case of Victorian popular education', *Oxford Review of Education*, 1977, 3, p. 58.
18 W.A.C. Stewart & P. McCann, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 65. For a general discussion of the long-standing place of music in Scottish schools see J. Bulloch, 'The significance and contribution of the song schools in Scottish educational history', unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1981.
21 A. Cullen, *op.cit.*, p. 34.
22 For comments on the poor cost-effectiveness of pauper apprentices, see N. Smelser, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-5; and S. Pollard, *op.cit.*, pp. 164-5. Smelser reports that 'in a classic statement in 1816, Robert Peel claimed that apprenticeship was no longer a basic concern in the cotton manufacture because of . . . steam factories with their free child labour' (p. 187).
23 A. Cullen, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
24 F. Podmore, *op.cit.*, p. 84.
25 For a general discussion of recruitment and retention of skilled labour in the industrial revolution, see S. Pollard, *op.cit.*, pp. 166-172. Owen's actions in 1806 might be compared with Henry Ford's unprecedented increase in auto-workers' wages to five dollars a day in 1914. In his autobiography Ford wrote: 'the payment of five dollars a day for an eight-hour day was one of the finest cost-cutting moves we ever made' (quoted in H. Braverman, *Labour and Monopoly Capital*, New York, 1974, p. 150).
26 S. Lythe & J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow, 1975), p. 186.
27 G.D.H. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 159; cf. 'the difficulties Owen encountered as a result of his partnerships are important only in that . . . they delayed the application of his plans for education.' H. Silver, *op.cit.*, pp. 115-116.
28 F. Podmore, *op.cit.*, p. 111.
29 M. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 74.
30 See T. Atkinson, *Sketch of the Origins and Progress of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow*, Glasgow: Printed for private circulation, 1831. No indication is given of the date of Owen's admission to the society but he is recorded as giving papers in 1815 ('education and the formation of character') and

1818 ('observations on the effects of the manufacturing system, with hints for the improvement of those parts of it which are injurious to health and morals'). There is no reason to assume that the economic/intellectual climate of Glasgow around 1800 was any less important to the fermentation of Owen's ideas than it had been, forty years previously, to the formulation of Adam Smith's social theories..

31 J.F.C. Harrison, 'The steam engine of the New Moral World; Owenism and education 1817-1829', *Journal of British Studies*, 1967, 6, p. 81. See also J.F.C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (London, 1969), pp. 83-87.

32 G. Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education Illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic Class in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1825), pp. 464 and 426.

33 R.D. Owen, *An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark* (1824), reprinted in B. Simon (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 160. See also D. Hamilton, 'Adam Smith and the moral economy of the classroom system' *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 1980, 12, pp. 281-298.

34 The intellectual/educational networks that existed in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century will be reported more fully in the forthcoming M.Ed. theses (Glasgow University) of Eileen Brown and Rosalind Russell. Already, their work on Dugald Stewart and Elizabeth Hamilton suggests, for instance, that Pestalozzian ideas entered Scotland at a much earlier date that hitherto reported.

35 When Owen addressed the Lancastrian Society of Glasgow in 1812 he was 'supported on the right and left by Professors Jardine and Mylne', *Life of Robert Owen* (London, 1971), p. 107 (originally published in 1857).

36 R. Owen, *A New View of Society* (3rd Essay, 1814), reprinted in B. Simon (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 71.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

38 For a valuable discussion of the educational views of [illegible] Helvetius, see F. Silver, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-65.

39 R.D. Owen, *A Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark* in B. Simon (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 175. For the importance of 'emulation' to the organisation of early nineteenth-century schooling, see D. Hamilton, 'Adam Smith and the moral economy of the classroom system', *op.cit.*

40 R. Owen, *A New View of Society*, in B. Simon (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 75.

41 E. Halevy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (Boston, 1955, originally published in 1928), pp. 13-17. Halevy's analysis of the identity of interests thesis may help to explain Owen's care for humanity and social justice which 'many of the Utilitarians lacked' (see P. Gordon & D. Lawton, *Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London, 1978, p. 54).

42 J. Butt, 'Robert Owen as businessman', in J. Butt (ed.), *Robert Owen: Prince of Cotton Spinners* (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 199-200.

43 (Minute Book of) Association of Master Cotton Spinners (Strathclyde Regional Archives, T-MJ 99).

44 T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (Glasgow, 1975), pp. 397-8.

45 R. Owen, 'On the effect of the manufacturing system etc,' (1815), Appendix H of Volume 1A of *The Life of Robert Owen* (London, 1856), p. 41.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

49 R. Owen, 'Report to the committee of the association for the relief of the manufacturing and labouring poor' (1817), Appendix I of Volume 1A of *The Life of Robert Owen*, p. 64. The fact that Owen's proposals in 1815 and 1817 consciously sought to reassure the upper and middle classes had led at least one commentator to describe them as 'essentially conservative' (J.H. Treble, 'The social and economic thought of Robert Owen', in S. Butt (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 42).

50 *Life of Robert Owen*, p. 79.

51 *Life of Robert Owen*, p. 26.

52 W.H. Chaloner, 'Robert Owen, Peter Drinkwater and the early factory system in Manchester, 1788-1800', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1954, 37, p. 91.

53 D.J. McLaren, 'A Bright Luminary to Scotland': a Life of Glasgow Entrepreneur David Dale, 1739-1806, M.Ed. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1981; cf. M. Sanderson, 'Education and the factory in industrial Lancashire, 1780-1840', *Economic History Review*, 1967, 20, pp. 266-279; and R. Pallister, 'Schools for working class children in County Durham in the early nineteenth century', *Bulletin of the North East Group for the Study of Labour History*, 1971, 5, pp. 9-12.

54 See 'Queries submitted to Mr. Dale of Glasgow by Mr. Bayley of Manchester, in connection with the working conditions in the Mills at New Lanark', reprinted in T. Ferguson, *The Dawn of Scottish Welfare: a Survey from Medieval Times to 1863* (London, 1948), pp. 93-96.

55 Quoted in H. Silver, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

56 The surviving New Lanark Visitors' Books are held in Glasgow University Archives.

57 *Life of Robert Owen*, p. 139.

58 *Buchanan Family Records*, Capetown: Printed for private circulation, 1923, p. 1.

59 Rusk implies that Buchanan was a preacher before he moved to New Lanark, though his evidence for this is unclear (see R. Rusk, *A History of Infant Education*, London, 1933, p. 136).

60 *Life of Robert Owen*, pp. 138-139. Buchanan's predecessor whom Owen characterised as 'obstinate' had been appointed by David Dale twenty-three years previously. See J. Butt, 'Robert Owen of New Lanark: his critique of British Society', p. 20.

61 *Life of Robert Owen*, p. 235.

62 W. Allen, *Life of William Allen with Selections from his correspondence* (3 vols.) (London, 1846), Vol. 1, pp. 183-209, 215.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 244, 344, 355, 356; Vol. 2, p. 266.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

65 *Life of Robert Owen*, p. 235.

66 Quoted in J. Butt, 'Robert Owen as businessman', in S. Butt, *Robert Owen: Prince of Cotton Spinners*, p. 201.

67 The New Lanark Cash Book is held in Edinburgh University Library. The amounts have been re-calculated to the nearest pound.

68 See P. Podmore, *op.cit.*, p. 157, W. Davidson's *History of Lanark and Guide to the Scenery* (1828) reports that dancing was still taught even after the schooling at New Lanark had reverted to the 'British and Foreign system'; cited in Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America*, p. 162n.

69 For payments to Whitwell, see the New Lanark cashbook.

70 'The single thread which runs through all of Owen's ideas, colouring them and imparting their direction to them, is his humanity'. S. Pollard 'Introduction' to Pollard & Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, p.x.

Source: Humes, W., & Paterson, H. (eds.), *Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980*, John Donald, Edinburgh, (forthcoming).

2 Educational reform as the organization of ritual: stability as change

T. S. Popkewitz

Since the 1960's, educational reform and change has been a major preoccupation of the American educational community. Given impetus by federal funding which sought to improve the quality of scientific/technological instruction and education for the socially disadvantaged, the practice of reform has become institutionalized. A particular cadre of professionals has emerged to identify the need for reform, plan the programs to solve the problems, and evaluate the solutions. Common to most of the efforts of reformers is the belief that the problems and solutions to schooling lie in the scientific management of its environment. Educators see scientific management and its offshoot, the human engineering approach, as successful in industry, agriculture, and space programs, and therefore, as a plausible way to deal with social problems such as those found in the schools. Scientific management, it is believed, provides a rational and efficient scheme for manipulating the school environment to achieve desired outcomes.

It is within this context of educational reform and scientific management that we can understand the emergence of a program called Individually Guided Education (IGE). Developed at the Wisconsin Center for Research and Development for Individualized Schooling, one of the seven National Institute of Educators centers created to give systematic attention to the improvement of schools, the reform program provides a comprehensive management procedure for changing elementary school organization and instruction (see Lipham & Klausmeier, 1966). The program is used in over 3000 U.S. schools, and approximately 25 state departments of education have coordinators whose task is to encourage schools to use the reform program.

While the intent of the reform is to overcome the conservative nature of schooling, the conclusion of recent research that two colleagues and I conducted suggests that the reform technologies were used in ways that maintained and supported the existing school beliefs, priorities, and patterns of conduct. (Popkewitz, Tabachnick, & Wehlage, 1982). Further inequities in school experiences were made to seem reasonable and credible through the rituals and ceremonies of the reform practices themselves.

To explore this conclusion of reform as stability, this paper will be divided into four sections. The first will consider some anomalies and contradictions found in the daily life of the schools that adopted this program and will then direct attention to the question of why the reform program serves to legitimate existing patterns. It will be argued in the following two sections that reform is an occupational ritual, and the implication of those ritualized activities is to stabilize educational affairs. Further, the particular conceptualization of reform in IGE as a psychological and management task focuses attention upon legitimizing rituals rather than underlying institutional rules and values. A fourth section shifts from a discussion of stability to the ways in which people in the studied schools withhold their cooperation from the ongoing priorities and values. This section considers the view that the world is not totally coercive and consuming and that people create psychological and physical space that potentially can challenge existing patterns. The discussion of resistance, however, suggests that the social density and power relations in schools make challenges difficult.

Many of the illustrations in the text of this paper will come from the study of Individually Guided Education. This study involved an ethnographic investigation of six elementary schools in different parts of the country which were selected as exemplary of the program. The observations and interviews were concerned with illuminating the patterns of conduct which gave coherence to life in these schools and realization to the technologies of IGE. Where appropriate, other studies of educational reform will be used to clarify the dynamics of reform as a political and social endeavor.

Reform as Occupational Ritual: Anomalies and Contradictions in the Use Of IGE

Individually Guided Education assumes that the problem of school change is related to the implementation of management procedures in curriculum and instruction. The program contains a comprehensive set of management technologies to be applied in all schools. Organizational characteristics of the school are interrelated with the selection of curriculum, instruction, and evaluation. Included are sets of procedures for grouping children, developing objective-based curriculum, team-teaching, and testing and record keeping to monitor children's achievement as they master specified learning objectives. Because of the standardized character of these reform technologies, one would expect that all the schools which adopted the IGE technologies would be similar.

While the IGE program offered universal technologies, the actual ways in which the technologies were used varied among the six schools in the study. This observation, I must add, is not by itself worthy of mention because many others have noted the problems of adaptations in reform programs (Fullan & Promfret, 1977). What is interesting in the

IGE study is that the formal organizational arrangements of the six schools gave every appearance of being exemplary, including the responses on a survey concerned with teacher commitment and perceptions of the reform program. Analysis of the day-to-day interactions and discourse, however, revealed that the use of technologies of mastery learning, criterion-referenced testing, or curriculum management systems was a veneer which obscured conflicting beliefs, priorities, and social relations among the schools.

To give reference to the contradictory forms of schooling in which the reform program was realized, three labels were created: technical, constructive, and illusory schooling. Each of these types of schooling had particular configurations of school work, conceptions of knowledge, and professional ideologies that gave meaning to day-to-day life. In three of the schools labeled technical, the implementation of the management scheme became an end in and of itself. A consequence was standardized knowledge, emphasizing those specific and discrete skills in mathematics and reading that had measured outcomes; professional responsibility was defined as searching for the efficient ways of processing people, and there was a division between conception and execution of work. Children worked with specific and discrete parts of a problem or skills but had little opportunity to work with the skills as part of a whole. Learning a phonic sound, for example, was a problem separate from reading a sentence; learning to punctuate properly came before, and was separate from, trying to express an idea in writing. Teachers and children were involved in the execution of the procedures defined in the systems, such as mastery learning of the specific and discrete objectives. But they were not involved in the creative acts that relate specific activities to some vision of the whole.

Two of the six schools labeled illusory also contained the language and technologies of IGE in its formal activity. Charts of instructional systems dotted the school walls; children were said to be regrouped, and mastery learning was talked about as guiding teaching. Analysis of the discourse and interactions, however, revealed that the important social messages of the school had little to do with mastery learning of skills. Schooling was to develop a controlled and morally correct student population. The staffs of the illusory schools saw the children as economically poor and deficient because of the debilitating effects of home life and community. In the subject-matter lessons, around which the formal school day was organized, little actual teaching of reading, mathematics, or writing occurred. The expressed academic purposes of the IGE technologies in these schools were secondary to the use of the management schemes as a vehicle for transmitting social values about inadequacies of the school in light of the children's social background.

The constructive school also called itself an IGE school. Emphasis, however, was on the development of interpersonal skills and facility with language. Teachers stressed the importance of student responsibility and

autonomy and encouraged a tentativeness and playfulness toward the knowledge to be learned.

In each of these schools, the technologies of IGE were selectively adapted to support and maintain the existing priorities and patterns. The constructive school, for example, used the program's organizational arrangements to provide flexibility in grouping of children for instruction. In contrast to the technical school, the curriculum management approach, however, did not become central to instruction. It was a record-keeping device to assure that district, school-wide objectives were met while the teachers pursued their instructional purposes. In the illusory school, the technologies of IGE were used as a ceremony to project school competence and efficiency.

The internal differences in the social conduct in these schools were related to the social predicament of the schools. Certain factors external to classroom activities created a series of dilemmas and complexities to which classroom practices gave reference. For example, the two illusory schools were situated in a poor white and a poor black neighborhood. The response of illusory schooling could be understood in relation to the location of the school: teachers perceived a difficult and perhaps insurmountable task of teaching certain types of school knowledge to children who had not been morally and intellectually prepared for that learning. They accepted a pathological view of community and also sought to provide a safe and orderly environment in a situation the teachers believed dangerous and debilitating. The social predicament of the constructive school was somewhat different. The constructive school emphasized interpersonal relations and a skepticism towards ideas. This curriculum is responsive to the intellectual and social point of view that has been associated with the professional in modern society (Bernstein, 1975; Gouldner, 1979).[1] The constructive school was, in fact, located in a professional community, and parents' and children's expectations and demands reinforced the constructive quality of the school.

The relation of social/economic background with schooling was not one of correspondence, for we found other social/cultural and professional factors mediating what occurred in schools.[2] The illustrations point to schooling as existing within a larger social world which produces a predicament in defining the school mandate, in determining appropriate definitions of school work, and in using the reform program.

The different forms of schooling point to a number of anomalies and contradictions in the reform program that require explanations. The program provided an image of universal technologies to be applied to all situations in an objective manner. However, the technologies were used differently in schools to justify different notions of student achievement and competence. The technologies of the reform were to introduce variations in pacing children who were to learn a standardized curriculum. Yet the program was used to maintain different conceptions of knowledge and of learning. Further, the management systems were to provide con-

sistent and clear criteria for success, thus helping to maintain the ideal of the school as an objective institution which rewards only the meritorious. In fact, socially derived criteria entered into, and served to define differently, what children in the schools should achieve.

Reform and Occupational Ritual: Stability and Social Consensus

These different social uses of IGE pose a question about the reform itself. Why did the schools use the reform in such different ways? Each of the six schools' staffs believed that they had adopted this reform program and, on the surface, it did appear that each school was fulfilling its tasks. One answer to the question of different uses might be that the schools misinterpreted the reform; another response is that the reform was not well conceptualized and that the ambiguity of the implementation practices could lead one to pick and choose in ways that would lead to different implications and effects. Both of these explanations are inadequate because they ignore the social and political context of schooling. I would like to argue that the potency of the reform program is not necessarily in the specific practices brought to schools but in its ritualistic values. The enactments of reform provide a mechanism for re-establishing the credibility of the social values that people place in schooling as a social institution (see, e.g., Floden & Weiner, 1978; Lundgren, 1979).

Ritual is important to social life and a sense of community. Our daily life is filled with complex interactions and events that are rendered comprehensible and coherent through the introduction of ceremonial acts. Ritual can establish commitment to our religious world and its general conceptions of the order of existence. It can provide for our artistic development. The enactment of a greeting among friends, the rites of life cycles (confirmation, marriage, or funerals), the policeman's recitation of the law to the speeder, or the parent's consultation with a guidance counselor about a student's grade contain certain specific complexes of symbols that serve to intensify and render, as far as possible, the cultural system inviolable.

For the purposes of this essay, however, I would like to focus upon a political function of ritual. It can help to maintain formal authority and respect to institutional arrangements through creating social enactments that are viewed as symbolic of the sacred values we hold (Edelman, 1977). It is within this political context of ritual that we can examine the meaning of school reform.

The political quality of reforms as rituals becomes apparent when we consider certain tensions that exist between the workways of schooling and the external world. Schooling is an historical enterprise in which each generation has to re-establish the significance and benevolence of its institutional arrangements. We can think of the modern, universal school, for example, as emerging from the movement at the turn of the

century to provide education for the large numbers of immigrants, blacks, and native Americans who, the early reformers believed, had to learn American (Anglo-Saxon) work and cultural ethics. As that need has changed and new social crises emerge, the ongoing practices of institutional life need to be reasserted as right and beneficial. Reform provides one such legitimating machinery. The new languages, activities, displays, and organization of materials that are introduced in reforms can provide a way in which the people in the institution can project images of competence, responsiveness, and benevolence in changing situations. (How this occurs in a program designed to redress social inequities is discussed in Popkewitz, 1975.)

This image of institutional competence is tied to the widespread belief in our society that organizations should be efficiently organized (Meyer & Rowen, 1977). The belief in efficiency extends into the fabric of American life. Schools are assumed to have technical purposes which can be specified in rulelike ways, and appropriate means are sought to pursue these purposes. While such a public expectation exists, such technologies for efficiency in schooling do not actually exist, for uncertainty and ambiguity are inherent to the environment found in schools. One solution to the dilemma of efficiency is to create public rituals and ceremonies which evoke an image of an institution as appropriate, technical, and modern. The use of external assessment instruments, such as criterion-referenced measures, for example, makes the institution seem rational because the test scores appear to exist independent of the individual students and teachers.

Individually Guided Education provides a concrete example of how reform can provide rituals that establish the rationality, efficiency, and responsiveness of school life. First, the language of this reform captures a variety of pervasive beliefs and ideals that underlie our cultural world. The imagery of individualization maintains a contemporary belief that institutions should respond to human differences in ways that allow each child to achieve according to his or her capabilities. Thus, the social belief in merit becomes tied to the program of organizing for individualized instruction. Second, the technologies of the instructional systems, the objective-based curriculum, and record keeping procedures create an image of schooling as objectively and rationally organized. The posting of children's scores, the procedures of testing, the use of computers to record children's progress in mastering objectives, or the boxes of carefully labeled and sequenced curriculum objectives create an imagery of equality in service and efficiency.

Teachers and administrators in the IGE schools do comment upon the symbolic value of the reform technologies in their interactions with the community. One principal thought the IGE program provided evidence of school accountability. With the increased litigation being brought against school districts for children's low test results, a principal said that the management systems and record keeping provided concrete

evidence of the school doing its teaching job. He reasoned that if a child did not learn, it would not be the school's fault, as the records would show the child was given the materials and taught the skills. Teachers and parents, as well, commented upon how the instructional systems provide clear evidence of achievement and progress. This feeling of objectivity, rationality, and equality existed in contexts where there were radically different social forms to schooling, each having different assumptions about what it means to learn, to work, and to know.

The ritual of the reform has a function in professional life as well. As a cultural enactment, it helps teachers develop and renew their sense of commitment. The engagement in the team-planning, the grading and recording of grades, or the use of a specialized IGE language help to set aside the activities of the teachers from the more mundane career demands found in teaching. A job satisfaction survey of IGE schools found that there is a high correlation between perceived level of implementation of the IGE program and teacher satisfaction. The IGE teachers also gave workshops for other teachers, delivered lectures at local and national conferences, and sought extra funds from their school district on the premise that something innovative was occurring. Discussions with teachers about their involvement with district, state, and national IGE organizations indicated that the teachers felt that they were involved in something special, that they had learned skills and developed competence that others should pay homage to. In a job that is often routine and habitual, these enactments of the reform provided a powerful mechanism for rededication and commitment.

Once we pass from the feelings and images produced by the reform practices to actual outcomes, we find that the images are not real and there are discrepancies between the intent of the reform technologies and their specific outcomes. There is no actual achievement difference between schools that use the IGE program and those that do not. There appears to be no relationship between teacher's perception of adaption of any of the technologies of IGE and children's achievement (Price, 1980). When one looks at the curriculum management systems, the objectives seem all encompassing. Upon inspection the objectives are either extremely specific (e.g., a child will master addition facts 1-5) or are so ambiguous as to allow teachers to do most any kind of teaching they might want. ("Each child will be able to state the following monthly schoolwide preliminary objectives: September, a child will learn how to follow directions," or "each learner will take part in at least one of the following three programs in order to develop positive skills in getting along with people: (a) hi-ho, (b) tutoring, or (c) foreign language tutors.")

We must conclude, therefore, that the activity of reform is a dramaturgy. The rituals, language styles, and ceremonies can create a feeling for both professionals and public that things are getting better, that professionals are competent, and that the social organization of schooling is progressive and responsive. This ability to generate new

symbols of affiliation, though, is important to social control and institutional stability. As I argued earlier, the school has certain built-in contradictions which the practices of reform help to ameliorate or obscure. One of these is related to the myth of rationality which, because of the ambiguous and socially determined environment of the school, is in fact virtually impossible to implement. A second source of contradiction is the demand that the school be an objective, meritorious institution in a social world that provides differential access to its material and cultural resources. The enactments of reform may have little to do with the actual work or social values conveyed in schooling; in the case of IGE, the reform technologies were used in different ways and had very different social and political implications in the technical, constructive, and illusory schools. From this perspective, we must conclude that the reform program operates as an interface between a school and its public to project images of efficiency, effectiveness, and responsiveness demanded of public institutions.

Reform as Managerial and Psychological: The Organization of Public Ritual

I have argued that reform links the expectations of the society with an image of institutional life. Reform does this by giving focus to the characteristics of the formal organization which enables people to believe that the myths of rational organization, objectivity, and professional expertise are being fulfilled. I will pursue this theme by looking at the way IGE is defined: that is, reform as a task of managing organizations to respond to psychological variability. While the claims of a management science and differential psychology in IGE often give reference to educational reform and change, the empirical consequence is that these technologies are not able to come to grips with the underlying social values that give organization to school life. This occurs because the reforms accept the assumptions of the formal, public organization of schooling as the actual nature of schooling to be reformed. Thus, the reform technologies become part of the political ritual and produce stability and conservation rather than change.

Earlier it was suggested that IGE captures two dominant themes for improving institutional life in contemporary school affairs. First, it draws upon the science of management to create an efficient and rational program in schools. We can see this emphasis in the overall definition of change that orients the program: that reform is to improve the efficiency of the elementary school program. It is assumed that there is a prior consensus about organizational goals in schools and that the problem of instruction is to find a rational procedure for ordering the knowledge, attitudes, and values to be taught. The rational procedure to be used involves defining elements in school organization, instruction, and curriculum and forming them into logical "systems" of interrelated but distinct

parts. Further, it is believed these systems of parts "act" in a rational, harmonious, and orderly movement for change. The assumptions of "systems" take root in the organization of instruction which is defined as a management problem.[3] The learning of school knowledge is subdivided into a number of discrete learning objectives that have a logical and hierarchical sequence. Instruction is to teach efficiently these objectives.

This management approach to instruction is coupled with differential psychology which asserts that children have different learning rates and learning styles and that instruction has to adapt to these differences to increase performance. According to the assumptions of the systems view of instruction, the psychology of individuals is consistent and the problem is one of moving efficiently to a prescribed goal. Individualized instruction is concerned with differences in skills or with information children lack and with the development of a systematic set of procedures by which these deficiencies can be removed. The problem of instruction becomes the development of an orderly plan for pacing children through the predefined curriculum.

The problem of reform that emerges is the following: there is a preordered, sequential, and discrete order of knowledge (attitudes, values, and content) to be made available to children. What is to be taught (emphasized) in school becomes that which is formally stated, and that content/knowledge is stable, fixed, and unyielding. What is flexible is the organization of children to learn that knowledge, that is, individualization of instruction. Teaching is to provide children with the most efficient organization for moving through the curriculum. There is no discussion in the implementation literature about how to achieve a consensus concerning an appropriate objective *except* procedurally to say that it should have some measurable criteria of mastery. Further, the school is assumed to be logically, technically organized with little social interference in the flow of the program.

The belief in consensus and in a logical/rational procedure which guides reform had particular consequences for this reform program. *It assumed consensus in school planning, filtering out discussion of the different social interests that compete for dominance in school planning. Further, it obscured the underlying social processes which give definition to what is learned in school. As a result, professional actions gave attention to the formal ritual aspects of the school organization, leaving unchallenged the day-to-day social processes that define order, authority, and value in school.*

A belief in a consensus about purposes of schooling underlies the reform program. The IGE implementation literature, for example, focuses solely upon the procedures necessary to implement objectives. As we look at the day-to-day activities in the IGE schools, in all but one IGE school teachers and principals assumed agreement about school goals and gave attention to the procedures for ordering objectives and implement-

ing the instructional program. This is illustrated in one of the technical schools, where a teacher constructed an instructional management system by selecting objectives and materials into packets for children's use.

> One of the unit leaders began by looking at several commercial math textbooks. For each grade, he identified the various computational skills that were taught. The skills that were chosen each had a measurable outcome (2 + 4 is 6). To enable students to find the appropriate pages for instructional help and examples, each skill was referenced for each textbook. For example, two digit addition was on page 8 in textbook A and page 10 in textbook B. The objectives were then organized into a sequence which seemed logical: One digit addition came before multiplication. The sequence was divided into levels, each having a number of related objectives and some criterion-referenced measures for evaluation. (Popkewitz, Tabachnick, & Wehlage, 1982, pp. 146-147)[4]

A different conception of knowledge and social relationships existed within the constructive school. The staff sought to teach skills with an interdisciplinary-problem approach to learning. Mathematic skills were considered in relation to other problems and understanding in the curriculum. The purpose of teaching mathematics, science, or reading was to encourage students to engage in inquiry, to treat ideas as tentative, and to provide opportunities to expand children's understanding and responsibilities in considering ideas. A fifth grade lesson about oil exporting and importing countries illustrates, in part, the interdisciplinary and problematic quality of the mathematics instruction.

> The teacher encourages several students to go to the blackboard and begin drawing a bar graph which depicts the numbers. The teacher suggests that another way of representing the export-import situation is to draw bars based on percentages. She indicates how they can do this. The students are busy converting barrels of oil into percentage figures for the major countries. Soon three students indicate they have worked out the figures; they go to the board and draw a graph (after several false starts) showing the percentage of oil exported by several large consumers (U.S., Britain, Germany, France, Japan). Once the graph is complete the students discuss the political implications of this situation. The teacher asks: "What problems might develop between nations because of this sharp difference between who exports and who imports?" One student sees no problem: "We get their oil and they get our money." The teacher suggests that maybe the exporting countries might get together to raise the price higher than we want to pay. This, she continued, can create a possible problem. (p. 232-233)

The illusory schools had little actual teaching of mathematics, although there were official times in the schedule that advertised mathematics teaching. Often students and teachers went through the motions of such teachings, such as passing out textbooks, writing examples on the chalkboard, or giving tests. The dialogue of the lessons, however, was not upon mathematics. Instruction was related to subtle messages about student competence and social values and worth, with the skill learning subsidiary to the knowledge to be conveyed.

> At points in discussions with teachers, the belief in social pathology enters into comments about students. Teachers are pessimistic about the prospects of obtaining good academic performance from the children. In one instance, a teacher's joke about the students' arithmetic skills reveals a belief in the social pathology of her students: I [the observer] walked next door to this teacher's room. On the board were addition examples, but they were much more complicated examples than those in the previous room. I asked the teacher if these were the brighter kids. She said, "Yes, they are able to exchange in addition, but have trouble borrowing." I said, "I have no trouble borrowing, it's the American way." She smiled and said, "Yes, it may be the American way, but these kids only know how to take, they don't know how to borrow." [p. 291]

Thus, while the subject matter in the three types of schools seems similar [all children are to learn a common subject matter, mathematics, according to a common instructional procedure], the subleties and nuances of school social patterns convey different meanings about the subject matter. These meanings were filtered out of school discourse by the ritual of the reform practices which defined teaching as a common and objective process guided by a management system.

The management focus also obscured social/cultural elements that influenced the different definitions of teaching and learning. In talking to teachers and observing classroom interactions, it became clear that social categories were used to organize and evaluate school work. In a school located in a blue-collar neighborhood, the superintendent characterized the community as "the salt of the earth, hard working, hard playing people who enjoyed snowmobiling." "The importance of this style of living," the superintendent continued, "is that when students do not have enough affluence to appreciate the arts, the school program must limit itself to "survival skills" [p. 185]. These skills were for functional literacy.

In another of the technical schools, located in a rural southern area, classroom work was justified by the home background of the pupils who came to school.

> "When you say 'culturally,' what do you mean by that?" "I mean," the teacher responded, "from homes, not that they don't care, but that they don't know. They are not as concerned with education. Maybe they are not educated themselves. The kids are not read to, there are no books in the home. They are not, they don't, they have never been to the city. We took a group to the city and they went crazy last year. They had never been to the city. You know, just experiences. They just don't have any experiences. They are just not exposed to a lot. That's why, I don't think intellectually, because they . . . . We've tested many that we thought were really going to be low and they had normal intelligence. They just haven't had the experience." [p. 187]

The idea of cultural pathology and individual inadequacy reappeared in discussions with the staffs in the two illusory schools. Teachers saw poverty in the home life, student hostility to school values, broken

homes, and community disorganization as necessitating certain restrictions upon what the school is to do or can do.

> In an interview with one of the curriculum consultants, instability in the students' homes is cited as one of the major problems facing the school district. He spoke at length about the problems of split families and the home life that many of the students, especially at Pierce, come from. The home life of the students is pointed to as one of the major reasons for difficulty within the school. (p. 290)

> Mrs. Q. explains that she really feels sorry for some of the students. They need so much love—"because of their background." "I used to work in a school with well-to-do kids before I came here." Pointing to two children, the teacher continued, "for example, you can tell the difference between those two kids." The children don't seem different to the observer who asks, "Why do you perceive them to be different?" "You can tell they're different by their backgrounds." The teacher replied. "That boy's mother is all mixed up. She's been married three times. He comes to school hungry. And he came to school yesterday on his birthday without a treat. The other girl, you can tell, comes from a good family. She's nicely dressed." (p. 289)

The teachers of the constructive school also used social criteria to define and justify the school program. The teachers perceived the community as of upper-middle-class and professional composition. They argued that the children come to school already knowing the minimum standards of reading or writing set by the district. Teaching, they felt, could emphasize other kinds of learning and experiences. Upon revisiting the school a year and a half after the study was completed and noticing the introduction of more direct skill instruction, I asked a teacher whether she saw any changes during the last year. Her reply was not about the teaching but demographic and social changes in the school's community. She said a new housing development had been completed and had brought to the school many middle-class children who had both parents working and who therefore did not have the same preparation for schooling as did the other children in the school. I asked "What was the difference?" She responded, "When you first visited the school, the mothers of the children did not work and had time to read to them and things like that. Most of our parents now work and don't give their children these educational experiences."

These incidents of social criteria influencing individual teachers are obscured by focusing attention on problems of management and of psychological differences. Differences in schools are treated as differences of psychological traits, remedied by better use of manipulative materials or variations in teaching styles to better motivate children. The psychologization of schooling is expressed in a particular school language. Problems to be addressed are "matching learning styles," "meeting children's needs," or "continuous progress." The psychological language is juxtaposed with a language of technology and science, such as instructional improvement models, curriculum management systems, and

criterion-referenced tests. The language and practices do not permit sustained discussion of the social values or assumptions of school programs.

This attention to problems of management is an integral element in the organization of school ritual. The focus of the reform is upon the publicly available forms and categories of schooling and the languages and procedures that enable the existing condition of schooling to seem responsive to general social expectations. Those who manage the reform respond to the surface conditions of schooling by establishing rituals that call forth the proper images and illusions of institutional competence. The concern, though, never goes beyond the surface details of school life. Filtered out of consideration are the underlying rules and meanings of institutional life. Rationality and efficiency seem ends in themselves and, as such, have no reference to social values and priorities that give direction to schooling.

Commitment, Detachment, and Revolt: Resistance to the Ideologies of the School

While we have been arguing that reform provides a powerful symbolic form of legitimation, the institutional reality of schooling is not totally coercive. Teachers and students react to the day-to-day events with different levels of commitment, detachment, and in a few instances, revolt. The belief that people are not passive to the cultural, social and economic imperatives that underlie school structures is captured by the concept of "resistance." (See, e.g., Anyon, 1981; Giroux, 1981.) Resistance is both a theoretical and ideological construct. It directs attention to educational action by suggesting that social structures are fragile. It also points to the complexities of relationships among people as they live in institutional arrangements. The ways in which the idea of resistance can be employed to help overcome limitations of conventional social theory are summarized by Apple (1980):

> . . . by seeing the school in only reproductive terms, in essence as a passive function of an external unequal social order, it is hard to generate any serious educational action whatsoever. For if schools are *wholly* determined and can do no more than mirror economic relations outside of them, then nothing can be done within the educational sphere . . . . Yet there is something besides its pessimistic perspective that we must point to. It is, in some very important ways, also inadequate as a theory of the relationship both among all social institutions and between schools and the powerful socioeconomic forces. For the concept of reproduction does not exhaust the nexus of relationships that ties institutions and people to each other . . . there will be constitutive aspects of day-to-day life that can best be described not as mirror images of what larger economic and social forces required, but as genuinely contradictory. (pp. 48-49)

This section will focus upon the tension between the coercive nature of institutional life which conventional reform legitimates and the day-

to-day processes which mediate and transform the nature and meaning of that life. My concern here is to probe the idea of resistance within the context of the IGE study, to ask whether the acts of resistance are ways in which people in schools penetrate the ideology of their social life, or whether what is seen as resistance are "merely" efforts of people to ameliorate their situation. For some, the acts are political and contain the seeds for collective action. For the others, the situation is inviolable and the political potential of these acts limited.

Before continuing, a caution must be entered. The focus of the IGE study was upon the social meanings of reform in institutional life and the way in which coherence was achieved. Therefore, classroom interaction which did reveal examples of what might be considered resistance was considered atypical. In our observation most people either accepted or acquiesced to the available definitions of schooling. As a result, resistance never became a central category of analysis.

The overpowering observation of life in the IGE schools is that teachers and students *in each of the different schools* accepted, for the most part, the value of the institutional arrangements in which they participated. Teachers in the technical schools, for example, accepted the importance of a technical rationality. They believed that the systems of management were appropriate means to form curricula and that IGE would enable them to achieve their stated objectives. Much of the teachers' time was spent trying to eliminate the snags which accompanied the new program and to make the procedures of the program move efficiently. Teachers in the constructive school believed that the traditions and customs of their school provided the best possible educational experience. A job satisfaction survey given to the teachers in each of the schools indicated that the teachers in the different schools believed they had established optimal conditions for learning.

Students as well supported the general arrangements and demands of schooling. In each of the schools, informal conversations with children indicated that they found comfort in what they were doing and satisfaction in the existing school measures of success and that they thought that the school was providing them with good opportunities to learn. This general satisfaction existed even though the conditions of schooling were fundamentally different in the six IGE schools. Such support for the school program and for the general norms which underlie school work is illustrated in the constructive school by a teacher-student discussion to evaluate a unit on "effective communication" that had been recently taught.

> A counselor had developed an instructional unit around "effective communication" and a number of small group exercises around topics such as "how to handle negative criticism." When the fifth and sixth graders finished the unit, the counselor asked the students and the four unit teachers to assemble to evaluate the unit. One boy articulated what appeared to have considerable support from his peers. "We already know how to do most of

> this; we should do academic work instead of this stuff." Another who is recognized by the teachers as a student of considerable academic ability asks, "What subjects were cut because of this communication unit?" A girl stands up and addresses the teachers by saying, "The teachers got more out of this than the kids," and then looking at the counselor says, "Your group was not very well organized." The evaluation session concluded with another student summarizing much of the group's feelings, saying, "The last week the kids lost interest, it was sort of boring." This comment received a sustained round of applause. (p. 243)

The criticism by the children focused upon the agreed-upon task and goals of the school and the *teachers'* failure to meet those expectations. The criticism of the evaluation became a reaffirmation of schooling by the children.

Other evidence also suggests that children internalized the definitions and priorities of the situation. The procedural language in the technical school, for example, took precedence over a language of ideas in children's discussion of their work. Children talked about the level of their work and the scores of their tests, and little about the ideas that underlay the curriculum. When asked what he was doing, a child said, "I am doing level 14." When asked what that was, he responded that it was the next level after 13 in the purple book, but he did not talk about the content of the lessons. In another context, children talked about mastery: One child said, "I have to make one more to pass. I got 34 not 35. He is a computer," he said, pointing to the child next to him, "He got 100." Another child said, "Yeah, I got 100." The child next to him said, "I got 25 wrong." Next to him a child looked at the observer and said, "I'm learning a lot. I was a B but now I'm up to an A" (p. 174).

If we think about language as a fundamental way in which we maintain contact with the world and its possibilities, the internalization of this technical language has important implications for the development of consciousness about the purposes, practices, and outcomes of schooling. This language filters out critical thought about the underlying values of school work by focusing upon the surface qualities of the procedures. If the type of consciousness to be developed in schools is to provide a disposition toward considering one's location in other institutional sectors of social life, then the language of procedure has "deeper" sets of social value and implication.

Each of the schools had mechanisms that could incorporate teachers' and students' reactions to institutional pressures so that they did not challenge the imperatives of the situation. For example, school programs were made psychologically compelling in different ways. In the constructive school, teachers placed emphasis upon the dispositions and values that students hold. The ideology of constructive schools was to consider social/emotional development as integrally related to intellectual development. Children were to communicate about their social life, feelings, and values as well as the content of the subject matter. In more than one instance, teachers held violations of social attitude as significant

violations of the ethos of schooling itself. Special "conversations" were held with children and communication sent to parents to correct transgressions: Two fifth-grade girls playfully put a boy in a barrel during a recess period. The teachers viewed the act as inappropriate and with sexual meaning. They immediately had a lengthy discussion with the two girls.

Resistance was channeled differently in technical schooling. The instructional program made a separation between academic skills and social development. A strong emphasis was placed upon completing worksheets and following the routines associated with the curriculum management systems. Teachers were concerned about the tedious nature of this work and sought ways to make schooling psychologically pleasant. Teachers spoke about the need to exhibit physical warmth in their interactions with children and were often observed providing those physical actions, such as hugging children. When the children had completed their academic skill work they could proceed to special areas in the classroom to play games such as checkers. The nonmastery-learning subjects such as social studies, art, science, and physical education were viewed as psychological release mechanisms from the more mundane skill tasks. These subjects had a "recess" quality in which children had an opportunity to "release energy" that had been built-up in the learning of the skills, while, at the same time, "recharge" themselves so they could return to their regular work with greater enthusiasm. The purpose of the physical warmth, games, and nonmastery subjects was to provide a physical and psychological release from the routine of the school's regular work.

Where the psychological demands of the work system were too difficult for children, pretense became a mechanism of tension-reduction. Children who were discipline problems were allowed to pretend that they were doing the work correctly. This occurred even though the teachers and student knew that this was not so.

> One student, who her teacher described as a troublemaker, was allowed to pretend she had completed certain tasks which she had no skill to complete. This child came to show the teacher her work. She had done the mastery test and said, "Look, I got 96." The teacher commented to me, "There's no way she can get 96 because she doesn't add or multiply." The pupil sits down with a level three book. She quickly thumbs through it, as though she's trying to look industrious, but she doesn't know how to read it. She keeps flipping through . . . . She looks up to me and says, "I finished the book. I made a hundred and nobody helped me." (p. 174)

The pretense by both the teacher and child provides a way of reducing tension that might be caused by any evaluation of what was actually complished. The tacit agreement between the two removed from the situation any possibility which might show the child incompetent and produce conflict.

For children who succeeded in the school work, there were ways to

work the system when tempo or demands seemed difficult to meet. In one of the technical schools, for example, the definitions of individualization meant each child should work by him- or herself with little interaction with peers. One day, five children of a primary group responded to this situation by standing manila folders upon the table where they were sitting. The folders gave an appearance of creating a physical barrier that would prevent each child from talking to the other. In fact, the folders were protective screens to prevent the teacher from seeing them talk. The children played games on the papers and talked about things that had happened at home or in school. Whenever they thought their voices were getting too loud, one of the children would say, "Shh . . . the teacher will get mad if we don't work hard." Once in a while, the comment would get a giggle from the other children followed by a toning down of their voices. At points in the lesson, the teacher would look at the table with a frown as if she was aware of what was happening but seemed willing to be a party to the charade as long as the children completed their work and the noise did not get too loud.

Teachers also found ways to manipulate the situation and reshape parts of the demands of the school life when the demands seemed overbearing. Expressing public acceptance of the goals and priorities of the schools in which they worked, teachers and administrators found ways to manipulate the situation to provide variations where variations were not publicly sanctioned. In one school, the principal ordered the teachers to have each child work independently. Two of the primary teachers decided, however, that the first and second graders did not have skills to work alone and needed planned group lessons. They did not inform the principal and publicly accepted the principal's mandate about independent work. During the group lessons, however, they "kept an eye out for him heading" towards their room. Teachers in the constructive school as well played the system. They accepted the minimum competency program of the school district as important to insure basic learning but did not use it in their day-to-day teaching. While the teachers could pull out charts listing all the objectives that their children learned, they believed that the children were well advanced in academic skills and they did not have to spend the time teaching the objectives. As one kindergarten teacher said, "My children know the minimum objectives before they even come to school, so I can do other things."

Teachers did express limitations and strains, and did point to contradictions in their work, but sought to reconcile these with the priorities and power relations in the situation. In one instance, a teacher was observed throwing the tests away because she had no time to grade them. Another teacher commented that even with the broad testing program, she must use her own judgments about what a child knew and should be doing. The management of skill learning, a third teacher suggested, was only one aspect of teaching and other social dimensions were to be valued and stressed.

G.: If you had your druthers, what would you put the emphasis on?
T.: Oh, (Laughter), Oh, I don't know. Oh, gosh, I don't know, I really don't. Classroom management is fine, but I want to be more than just a manager all the time, you know. There again that's just not the whole story. Last year it was a big thing that the room was so organized and managed, that I could leave for an hour and my kids were great, they were occupied. It was great, I did not think that was great. It was fine for it to be organized, but I still needed to be there, because I think they need the interaction of somebody, on some of those skills. They could still learn, I mean they could still pass the test, but they still didn't get the depth they needed, on some of those skills. (p. 175)

While this teacher was concerned about the direction and focus of the program, she felt powerless to intervene. She said that one day, "at the right moment," she would talk to the principal about some changes in her room, but at this moment, she could not do that.

Reading this comment we can begin to understand that the social density of the school situation and its arrangement contain powerful elements of social control. One important element of the power arrangement of the school is the principal. While most research has stressed the importance of the "leadership" qualities of the principal, the IGE studies direct attention to attributes of social control in this role. The principals exerted control over the situation in different ways. One form of control was to call forth the specter of professionalism: it was a teacher's obligation to carry forth certain tasks because it was a professional duty. There was more than one situation in which dissent was cast as an unprofessional act and social pressure was brought to bear to make the dissent unacceptable.

But other elements of control existed. One principal gave each of the teachers a personality inventory to guide his assigning of teachers to teams. Each teacher received a classification (dominant, submissive, etc.), which was used in talking about his/her role in school and unit decision-making. Teachers accepted this as helpful to maintain harmony among the teams. Each principal stated to the observers that s/he fired or transferred any teacher who did not cooperate with the implementation of the school program.

The principal's power was articulated in other ways. In one school, two teachers who wanted to transfer were afraid to interview with other principals because prospective employers would call back to the school to check references. Once their principal found out that they were looking for another job, the teachers said, "He would make life miserable."

Where rationalization of the school program was most complete, there was the least argument about the choice or value of the program. The rationalization process itself limited the scope and boundary of possibility and problem. The strict allocation of classroom time, the standardized procedures for moving children along in the sequence of instruction, and the consumption of time in record-keeping provided the

teachers in the technical schools with little flexibility to respond to serendipitous activities or to create other opportunities. While teachers in the technical schools said they valued analytic, synthetic, and creative thought, they could only respond to this existentially, within the confines of the mastery objectives, rather than plan lessons that would allow for the unexpected opportunity. Because of the visible and demonstrable character of the instructional management system (testing, record-keeping, grouping procedures), the principals in the technical schools also had the greatest control.

The coercive social nature of the technical schools brings us to one of the contradictions of the reform program itself. We have argued that the reform program was a ritualistic aspect of the formal organization. Yet in those schools in which the management procedures became the dominant ideology, there were in fact social consequences. The management procedures produced a system of hierarchical control which reduced teacher as well as student autonomy.[5]

The constructive school held the only situation in which there was public conflict about teaching ideology. The teachers reacted against the school district mandate for consistency in materials. They petitioned the school board that to use a single text series would limit their professional ability to respond to the interests and abilities of their children. After the petition was turned down, the principal commented, "I learned my lesson." The following year teachers recognized that they had no power to stop the district's effort and joined district task forces to help ameliorate the effects of district efforts for standard materials and procedures.

It should be clear that while teachers did have reservations about and, in some instances, revolted against the priorities of the situation, resistance was not predominant. Where resistance did occur, except in the constructive school, it was private and, in some cases, was a fantasy on the part of the teacher. Further, in no instance was the resistance a political act. It was, at best, considered an ethical one (professionals should have the right to choose) or procedural (teachers should have different options to reach the defined goals). The limitation of resistance must be seen as related to the social density and particular power relations of the situation of schooling.

Conclusions

Reform is a social phenomenon that exists and assumes meaning within the ongoing dynamics of schooling. It has been argued that the everyday life of schooling involves fundamental contradictions. People believe that public institutions should serve all people equally and that equality is ensured through the use of rational procedures. This myth of rationality occurs as people associate the techniques of corporate, industrial production with social relations. In the former, there is a clear

relation between the means of production and a specified output, such as in a machine part or an automobile. The image of productive efficiency is brought into social affairs through the language and procedures of a science of management. Social institutions are made to seem efficient, modern, rational organizations that are responsive to the public.

The problem with the myth of rationality, however, lies in the social and political quality of schooling. Schools are responsive to the social predicaments in which they find themselves. As the IGE study illustrated, there is not a common, universal school, but there are different types of schools which emphasize different linguistic, social, and cultural competencies. These differences have little to do with the mechanisms of efficiency portrayed in the sciences of management. They have to do with questions of competing interests in society, historical situations, and professional ideologies. These ideologies filter into and influence differences in classroom patterns (see Apple, in press).

The contradictions between myth and conduct impose a crisis of legitimacy. Schools must continually search for ways that maintain public faith in institutional processes and in the stability and consensus of the enterprise. It is for this reason that the enactments of reform become important to the conduct of schooling. The rituals re-establish the legitimacy and normalcy of existing arrangements. A belief is conveyed that the school is responding to social beliefs and mandate. The acts of reform enable people to "see" schools as responding to social demands for equitable treatment and rational, orderly processes. The rituals, however, seldom penetrate the systems of meaning and value that underlie institutional life. In the case of the IGE, the act of organizing reform, it was argued, was to direct attention to surface qualities, thus to deflect attention from the underlying social values, assumptions, and implications of institutional life.

It was argued that this political quality of ritual is sustained by the conventional way in which we approach the problem of reform.[6] A science of management directs attention to the tasks of bringing about efficiency without considering that efficiency always exists within some context of community and value. To be efficient in the constructive, illusory, or technical schools was dependent upon different conceptions of knowledge, work, and individuality. This decontextualization of efficiency was reinforced by the view of reform as a management of psychological difference. Fundamental social values and interests are recast to mean managing individual traits and abilities of children.

The symbolic power of the reform was illustrated when we examined the idea of resistance. While there was evidence of teachers and students resisting the imposed definitions of their situations, these acts of resistance were not political acts. They were attempts to work the system to provide some private space for diversion and enjoyment or to build informal networks within the public space. This acceptance and acquiescence points to both the social density of life in schools and the dif-

ficulty in generating critical perspectives.

We can now cast the problem of resistance within the general argument about reform. The act of reform was an act of organizing ritual that made the formal practices of schooling seem convincing, credible, and normal. This credibility was potent for teachers and students. Each was led to believe that they were participating in an institution that was competent, benevolent, and modern. The engagement of the rituals of reform posed a particular set of sentiments for teachers who were seeking status as professionals. The technical language and the rituals that seemed to define a specialized expertise, and the general activity and involvement demanded by the program helped to assuage doubts about the ongoing systems of relations and to reaffirm commitments.

The ritual qualities of reform do hold paradoxes. One of these is that the realization of management perspectives had real consequences and implications in the technical schools. The reform was used as a way of organizing both consciousness and activity. The reform was viewed as a way in which teachers could become more professional through increasing participation and responsibility in school affairs. The incorporation of a rational organization, however, was to incorporate professionalized impotency and incompetence. The teacher, as the child in the technical schools, was to be deskilled and limited in domains of decision-making. The concerns of organizing and recording the outcomes of the predefined curriculum sequence became the demands of teaching.

The paradox can be located in the position of the teacher as a professional. The ideology of professionalism leads to a knowledge that portrays institutional life as logically ordered and controlled. The rationalization of social conduct serves two interrelated functions. First, it symbolically asserts the competence of the professional who has the technical expertise to decode the institutional logic and to treat problems of institutional life. Second, rationalization increases the dependence of the clients (Donzelot, 1979). Definitions of social competence are organized and evaluated by the professional, expanding the scope of social life to be controlled. The rationalization of institutions, however, poses its own inner contradiction. As in the instance of the technical schools, to make the rational procedures part of a school's workways decreases the competency of the professional. As with students, the "craft" qualities of work, which integrate conception and execution of task, are destroyed for teachers. The competency of teachers to act in a semi-autonomous fashion is decreased and, as argued earlier, resistance reduced.

Reform was once thought of as a returning to original principles and values. Reform was concerned with how moral and ethical dedication could be infused in the practical endeavors of everyday life. The early reform efforts in American schools involved intense debate among businessmen, civic reformers, politicians, social scientists, and educators about the need to alter the schools in ways that responded to social

transformations in society. While these early reformers, such as Snedden and Dewey, had different visions of how schools should respond to these changes, the discourse of reform tried to clarify the human problems that were to be confronted. That mode of practical discourse has for the most part been lost and replaced with a concern for efficiency. In that process, our senses have become dulled and imagery has replaced substance.

Notes

1. The issue of the role of the professional is complex. Some scholars, such as Gouldner (1979), have argued that the professional has become a new class, offering a new dynamic into the elements of reproduction and production in society. Bernstein (1975) and Konrad and Szelenyi (1979) argued that the professional should be viewed as a technical stratum of the ruling class.

2. Much discussion in educational literature has focused upon the reproductive and productive role of schooling. The idea of correspondence suggests that schools "mirror" the structural conditions of society and poses a deterministic view of schooling and society.

3. There are a number of rational ways to think about and organize social life. (See, for example, my discussion of paradigms in educational sciences as an example of available rationalities, Popkewitz 1981.) "Systems" perspective must be considered as only one of the options.

4. In this and other quotes from Popkewitz, Tabachnick, and Wehlage (1982), pages from the technical report will be used. (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Individualized Schooling, 1980.)

5. Some of the theoretical issues associated with the problems of resistance are discussed in Apple (in press).

6. By focusing upon reform as political ritual, I do not want to suggest that ritual is unimportant. It is an important element in establishing community and imagination by enabling an individual to shift focus from the mundane affairs of everyday life to aspects that can lead to social progress. It was only upon the specific, political function of ritual that the paper focused.

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Source: Popkewitz, T. S., 'Educational reform as the organization of ritual: stability as change', *Journal of Education*, vol. 164, 1982, pp. 5–29.

Lessons from a comprehensive school system for curriculum theory and research

3

D. Kallos and Ulf P. Lundgren

After the Second World War most of the countries of the Western World changed and reconstructed their educational systems. A new ideological concept of schooling emerged, firmly anchored in the idea that education is intrinsically beneficial and that educational systems play an important role in economic and social development. This ideology is mirrored in various political statements concerning education. The trend of post-war economic and industrial development required new skills and qualifications among workers. Education was conceived of not only as an important means towards the implementation of these new qualifications, but also as a promotor of social and political justice in terms of social mobility, equality of opportunity, and economic equality.

The differentiated school system common to most European countries during the first part of this century was appropriate under the conditions then prevailing. New schools were created to meet specific demands on the labour force. In theory this could be interpreted in terms of an increased number of options for all citizens. In practice, however, the system was highly selective, since most of the "options" were created above the level of secondary education, and the secondary system was itself highly selective. A highly differentiated school system will ultimately lead to problems when cross-overs between the various lines or schools are complicated or when the actual number of students eligible for various post-secondary courses is insufficient in comparison with the demands of the labour market as a result of economic and technological development. Political demands for access to secondary and post-secondary education for a larger portion of the population will, of course, also influence the direction of change.

The common trend in post-war Western Europe was towards reforms pointing to a comprehensive school system. Common or similar motives for a change are clearly visible in all countries although many differences in the course of action taken may be observed. Such differences can be found at both the organisational and the curricular level. In the Scandinavian countries the renewal of curriculum was highly influenced by American experience (Cremin, 1961). School reforms in France, in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Italy were to a greater extent founded on an earlier didactic tradition (Springer, 1967).

In Sweden it was clearly stated that the educational reform of the compulsory school system should contribute to social justice by making education available to all regardless of social background. It is important to underline this aspect, because it is quite clear that the first phase of the reform was founded upon this ideology. Such an ideology was to have far-reaching implications for the organisation of the school system, for the curriculum, and for teaching. In principle the introduction of a comprehensive school system was an *organisational* reform. It was within a certain organisational framework that eventual changes in the curriculum and subsequent changes of instructional practice took place. Thus, the organisational frames already set the stage for what was to come (Dahllöf, 1971).

The particular case of Sweden is of more general interest for several reasons. In this paper we will use it to illuminate certain issues pertaining to curriculum theory, curriculum implementation and teaching. Our aim is, furthermore, to try to outline directions for future efforts in the area of curriculum theory and research using the case study as a point of departure.

School reform in Sweden

The work of reforming the Swedish school system which led to the implementation of the 9-year compulsory comprehensive school, was begun by the School Committee appointed in 1940 by the parliament. The compulsory school had undergone profound changes over the previous decades. The purpose of the 1940 School Committee was to get an overall view of both past and present as a basis for future school planning. This committee of experts was superseded by a parliamentary School Commission appointed in 1946 when the wartime coalition government had been replaced by a social democratic government (Paulston, 1968; Husén and Boalt, 1968). The 1946 School Commission delivered its final report in 1948 (SOU, 1948: 27), and a rather heated debate was triggered off as the proposals were considered too drastic and radical. The School Commission proposed new objectives for the school that emphasised "education for democracy". The school was to encourage personal development, critical thinking, independence and cooperation with others. Constant change in the society required not only factual knowledge but also activity and skill in assimilating and finding new knowledge. The methods of instruction were to be renewed in an individualising direction and pupils were to be encouraged to participate more actively in their learning. The School Commission furthermore proposed that the length of schooling should be increased to nine years organised through compulsory comprehensive schools which would replace the parallel school system.

A school bill was introduced in 1950 (Prop. 1950: 70), and Parliament voted in favour of the introduction of a comprehensive school system after an extended period of experimentation. The task of supervising and conducting the trials was given to the National Board of Education. In 1957 Parliament appointed a new committee to work out in detail the plans for the implementation of the nine year compulsory school system on the basis of the results from the trial period. In 1959 the National Board of Education issued a final report concerning the trials, and the 1957 committee delivered its main report to Parliament in 1961 (SOU 1961: 30). In 1962 a bill was passed which established a 9-year comprehensive school system.

One of the key issues in the post-war debate was differentiation within the comprehensive system. The Social Democratic party and the Communist party wanted an undifferentiated compulsory school system, which would postpone any individual decision on future education until the end of the compulsory school period. The liberal and the conservative parties opposed such a late decision, and the political compromise reached on this issue meant that the first six years were completely undifferentiated. In the seventh and eighth grades certain options were introduced, and in the ninth grade the pupil could make his choice between nine separate lines.

The school debate concerned itself mainly with the form and organisation of the compulsory school. However, the directives for the 1940 School Committee had also included a review of the higher level—the academic high school or *gymnasium*. In 1953 the National Board of Education revised the organisation and curriculum of the gymnasium. This revision was, however, provisional. Following reports from several committees a new "High-school" ("gymnasieskolan") was finally implemented in 1971 merging the "Gymnasium" the "Continuation School" and the "Vocational School" into a single school with 22 separate main lines of study, 14 of which were vocational and 3 general. These 17 lines last two years. Four lines—each of three years duration—together with a technical line of four years duration are also included in the new "High-school".

Pedagogical research and the Swedish curriculum reform

The Swedish School Commission of 1946 implemented an R & D programme to be administered and supervised by the National Board of Education. The School Committee of 1957 as well as the other committees responsible for proposing the plans for school reforms commissioned various studies and made extensive use of information from scientific research to back up or to justify their proposals (Husén and Boalt, 1968; Paulston, 1968; Dahllöf, 1971). The nature and importance of research concerning curriculum can be discussed by using some examples from this work.

The 1957 School Committee commissioned a number of studies to illuminate various aspects of the problems with which it worked. One of these studies was performed by Kjell

Härnqvist and was concerned with individual differences and school differentiation (Härnqvist, 1960). Härnqvist worked as an expert for the Committee and his study was presented as an official report from them. His task was to study the psychological pre-requisites on different age-levels for a differentiation of the teaching, and in connection with this to try to construct tests that could be used in the schools for guidance and selection (Härnqvist, 1960, p. 3).

Härnqvist's problem was not only limited by being linked to the issue of differentiation, but this issue was in itself conceived partly as a question of psychological prerequisites of students. This is an important limitation, and it partly explains why Härnqvist was able to successfully complete the study. The limitation sets the framework for the study by not only defining the problem in terms of possible alternative differentiation strategies but also by requiring that the feasibility of any possible alternative must be judged against data on the psychological characteristics of the students. The problem is thus posed in terms of a traditional issue in educational psychology. The problem furthermore was entirely relevant to the Committee's practical work. It concerned an issue at hand in terms compatible with the debate over such issues at that time. Härnqvist could thus aim his study and his interpretation of data against the background provided.

Härnqvist contrasted the notion of differences between students in general ability with the notion of differences between and within students in different intellectual abilities, using a factorial intelligence test and an interest inventory. As a result of his study he offered the following conclusions on the relations between differences in intelligence and interests on the one hand and curriculum differentiation on the other:

> . . . we come to the conclusion that the variations within the profiles are sufficiently large to constitute at least a serious difficulty in an attempt to differentiate students on the grounds of average scholastic aptitude. It is probable that the students' pre-requisites for the single subjects in school are dealt with more reasonably by a differentiation within subjects or courses. (Härnqvist, 1960, p. 114. Our translation.)

The second general question asked by Härnqvist concerned the duration of eventual differentiation measures. Here he drew his conclusions on the basis of observed stability of test results as defined by re-tests after one year. He stated that

> Even if stability is not remarkably low, so many changes occur already after one year that one must be sceptical about such forms of differentiation that are of a more definitive character or in other ways are hard to change. (*Ibid.*, p. 114. Our translation.)

These two conclusions hold true both for differences in intelligence and in interests. The third issue mentioned by Härnqvist in his conclusions concerns the question of *when* an eventual differentiation should take place. He states that if intellectual variables are taken into account data allow us to come to the conclusion that a subject or course based differentiation is equally possible at all age levels studied. That is, between 11 and 16 years of age (grades 4 to 9). If, however, interests are also taken into account this conclusion must be changed. Interests tend to become stabilized rather late. Härnqvist concluded that

> A differentiation according to interests should not take place until a relatively late stage and then only concern broadly defined areas of interest. (*Ibid.*, p. 115. Our translation.)

In our view Härnqvist's study may be regarded as exemplary. Its strength is that it could rely on two basic and sound pre-requisites. The first and most important prerequisite was a precisely defined problem area which was linked to reality. This reality was the debate over differentiation in terms of alternative strategies based on certain assumptions about the choice between strategies. This choice was regarded as dependent, among other things, upon psychological differences in intelligence and interests between and within students. The second prerequisite was that the problem was soluble within an established paradigm. The problem could be attacked well within the limits of traditional educational psychology and with the use of an established methodology. Härnqvist was thus able to describe reality in terms of inter- and intraindividual differences and thereby explore several myths which had influenced reasoning in the earlier debate.

The School Committee to some extent used the arguments and results presented by Härnqvist. Interestingly enough, the results were mainly used in arguing against early differentia-

tion (SOU, 1961: 30, pp. 251–293). Thus the Committee does not discuss in any detail the type of ability grouping on a subject or course basis which Härnqvist mentions. This is partly explainable if we take into account that the reasons against differentiation put forward by the School Committee are other than psychological. This in its turn emphasises the function of Härnqvist's study in disclosing the psychological reality behind the arguments used in the public debate over differentiation.

The whole notion of an undifferentiated school system common to all individuals for nine years was firmly rooted in the social democratic ideology. The school was regarded as an instrument in society that could be used to reach egalitarian goals. The organisational changes and the changes in overall objectives of the school are perhaps on the surface the main visible aspects of the school reform proposed by the 1957 School Committee. The Committee, however, was also aware of the need for changes in curriculum and teaching that had been discussed earlier by the 1946 School Commission. Such changes were partly regarded as necessary in order to adapt the programme to new organisational frames (heterogenously composed classes) and to the new overall objectives of the school. Problems of curriculum and teaching came to dominate later discussions in Sweden, but for reasons that we will discuss later they have never been adequately addressed.

The story of curriculum research in Sweden is accordingly a complicated one. No empirical curriculum studies existed when the 1957 School Committee began their work, except for some limited attempts (Husén and Boalt, 1968, p. 45). In 1956, however, the Industrial Council for Social and Economic Studies (SNS), an organisation financed by Swedish industry and commerce, had approached the Institute of Education at Teachers College in Stockholm with a proposal for a curriculum research project. This proposed project was an investigation of the contents of the basic subjects of mathematics and Swedish within the three final years of the compulsory school. The aim was to establish the necessary qualifications that the pupils should possess after completion of the compulsory school in order to satisfy the demands of the labour market. It was furthermore explicitly stated that the project aimed at gathering data which would have an impact on curriculum revisions that were already anticipated. The project was started.

Approximately one year later, when the 1957 School Committee had been formed and begun its work, it was proposed that the SNS project should be co-sponsored by the Committee, and this was done. Three new subjects were added to the project (civics, physics and chemistry) and greater emphasis was placed on the question of how teaching in those subjects was carried out in the parallel school forms existing at that time.

The results of the curriculum project co-sponsored by SNS and the Committee were published as scientific reports. The first report (mathematics and Swedish) was presented as a doctoral dissertation, and published by the Committee in the official committee report series (Dahllöf, 1960, published as SOU, 1960: 15). At the same time a popularised version was printed by SNS (Husén and Dahllöf, 1960). The report on civics was published in mimeographed form in 1961 by the Committee (Bromsjö, 1961) and the report on physics and chemistry was published in 1961 (Johansson, 1961; Husén and Johansson, 1961). In 1965, some years after the completion of the work of the School Committee, Bromsjö published an extended final report of his studies, also as a thesis (Bromsjö, 1965). It should be understood that the planning of the curriculum project had already taken place before the School Committee entered the scene as a co-sponsor.

These curriculum studies thus had the following influential supporting groups. Swedish industry and commerce lent support via SNS, scientific status was established through the Institute of Education at Teachers College and by the fact that the reports were published as academic theses, and finally official status was provided by the parliamentary committee through its co-sponsorship and the fact that several of the project workers also were included in the expert groups on subject course plans set up by the School Committee (SOU, 1961: 31). The project thus also had a political platform, furthermore emphasised by the fact that the co-chairman of the parliamentary committee also worked as an expert for SNS in the original planning of the project in 1956.

The perspectives and views that governed these curriculum studies were described in the following way by Dahllöf (1960 pp. 37–38, our translation):

> As a first point of departure for the entire project it has been assumed that pedagogical research in principle can contribute to the solution of those questions concerning objectives that are pertinent in revising the curriculum. It has, however, been equally selfevident that the syllabus cannot be decided solely upon the basis of empirical pedagogical research. The issues at stake here are decisions concerning objectives which do not fall within the domain of scientific work.

Dahllöf also suggested that the plans of study at a given stage within the school-organisation and within a given subject might be regarded as answers to demands that are made on the school:

> When these demands are not unanimous as to contents, the ensuing plans are the results of a weighing or—if one wishes—a compromise. This weighing is in principle performed by taking into account the total general set of objectives for the entire school-system which in general is laid down by political instances. This does, however, not exclude that a closer educational philosophical analysis cannot discover greater or lesser inconsistencies or opposing ideas in comparing general principles and existing course directives. (*Ibid.*, pp. 38–39, Our translation.)

Dahllöf's (1960) actual study was, however, concerned with the demands on the school. He distinguished between external and internal demands and wanted to study the total content within the subjects chosen in relation to the external demands on the school formulated by the receiving school systems, later vocation, leisure time, and so on.

> The main problems of the research work are to investigate the following aspects in the curriculum contents of Mathematics and Swedish language in the basic school. Furthermore the results of different partial investigations are to be compared.
> 1. The need of knowledge in different elements of each subject, partly for further studies and vocational activities, partly for leisure time.
> 2. The results of teaching in the basic school in relation to the requirements.
> 3. The teaching of the basic school in different elements of the subjects. (*Ibid.*, p. 500.)

The studies in civics by Bromsjö (1961) and in physics and chemistry by Johansson (1961) were similar.

The net results of these studies on the curriculum of the comprehensive school are hard to assess. The primary importance of the work lies perhaps in its effect on establishing a certain *modus operandi* in matters pertaining to the curriculum. The description of a suitable content in various subjects was to be made by experts (researchers and subject matter specialists) within the framework of the general objectives for the comprehensive school and its organisation. Curriculum development was seen as a "technical" problem that could be solved rationally by experts. When the 1957 School Committee published the results of its curriculum sub-committee it suggested:

> It can be legitimate to ask the question whether a Committee composed according to the principles which have been used should devote such an intense interest to questions pertaining to the curriculum guide as the Committee actually has done. The detailed treatment of these issues presented here is to be considered principally as a task for specialists. Apart from what the directives impose upon the Committee concerning the syllabus, the proposals for the curriculum which are presented here aim at illustrating the meaning of the declarations of principle and the proposals of the Committee and allow an evaluation of those, as well as facilitating the work for central, regional, and local authorities and publishing companies, teaching aid companies and others that each in their own way have the responsibility and interest to realise the decisions which will be the consequence of the proposals of the School Committee. The presentation of comparatively complete curriculum proposals already,

> in connection with the main proposal of the Committee, should furthermore make it easier for teachers and principals—who above all will become responsible for the realisation of the decisions with the intended content—to gain a thorough knowledge at an early stage of the intended content of the comprehensive school and the continuation school. (SOU, 1961: 31, p. 5, Our translation.)

The report quoted above contained detailed plans for the contents of the various subjects, which were the results of the work of the subject expert delegations working under the Committee. In 1962 these plans were issued with slight modifications by the National Board of Education as the official Curriculum Guide for the comprehensive school (Lgr, 1962). The importance of the curriculum in terms of its alleged steering effects was obviously clearly recognised, and the contents as well as the organisational framework for the comprehensive school were specified. The match between the organisation and the contents was, however, largely neglected and it was thought possible to overcome the difficulties of heterogenously composed classes by individualising teaching and remedial measures. The important issue of the ways in which a curriculum for a comprehensive school might be different from that of a differentiated school system was not discussed in any detail by the School Committee, that in matters of curriculum only differentiated between various technical (or organisational) solutions (SOU, 1961: 30, chapter 12). It could at least have been assumed that the School Committee should have discussed a truly poly-technical curriculum as an alternative if we consider the fact that the whole idea of a comprehensive school originated within the working class. Instead, the curriculum of the old "realskola" was transplanted into the organisational framework of the comprehensive school, and thus several of the ideals of the old school survived. What was good for the elite was considered to be good for everyone. The school should provide every child with the opportunity to develop maximally according to its abilities and interests, but within a pre-specified area of contents derived not from the interests and needs of different social classes, but from the interests of the ruling class.

During the phase of implementation of the school reform both at the compulsory and at the secondary levels, an increasing amount of money was allocated to educational research and development. The funds were entrusted to the National Board of Education. This in its turn led to an increasing bureaucratisation (Lundgren, 1973; 1976), and during the implementation phase a large part of the funds for research were allocated to curriculum research on the micro-level, that is to the development and evaluation of teaching aids and various material-methods systems. During the sixties the evaluation and adjustment of the curriculum became regarded as a technical and administrative problem and increasing use of the rational model of curriculum planning also meant that pedagogical research became more and more technologically oriented. Curriculum change thus consisted of a number of minor changes implemented through materials with the motive behind each small change being expressed in terms of pedagogical research and evaluation. The curriculum reform of the comprehensive school in 1969, for example, did not in principle rest upon any research on the effects of the earlier curriculum. Instead it was founded upon studies of frequency of choices between different lines in grade 9 and between the options in grade 7 and 8 (Dahllöf, 1971).

On the one hand pedagogical research had a legitimising function and on the other hand, a new picture of what was to be considered as pedagogical research emerged. Development studies—the construction and evaluation of material-methods systems—were accepted as scientific research, which in its turn meant that a theory had to be created as an afterthought in order to legitimate a design already decided upon by the administrators. Theory development thus became more and more similar to model building, the basis of which was the epistemological perspective and the scientific ideals that dominate within the field of pedagogics.

Piecemeal adjustment and changes created an illusion of development steered by rational deliberation and careful control. But it should be pointed out that many—but not all—of the curriculum studies carried out during the sixties in reality legitimated decisions that had already been taken. During the years following the introduction of the comprehensive school no attempt was made to construct a model of the school system for evaluation and implementation that was suited to the special problems of a continuous curriculum revision. Dahllöf (1971, p. 141) noted that

> Systematic studies that aim at evaluation and follow-up of the school reforms are still missing. It is impossible today to obtain a comprehensive picture of the situation regarding the achievements of the pupils or of other aspects of work in school. (Our translation.)

Pedagogy after the 1969 revision

After the 1969 reform of the comprehensive school curriculum, and in connection with the integrative reforms of the upper secondary school ("gymnasieskolan") two working groups were constituted within the National Board of Education to organise evaluation and planning for continuous revision more firmly. One group was organised for the comprehensive school (LUG) and another for the secondary school (LAG). During the first years of work in the LAG-group certain contacts with research were upheld and the group tried to apply a general model for goal oriented analyses developed by Dahllöf (Dahllöf, 1971, Dahllöf, Lundgren and Siöö, 1971) and some reports following the ideas were produced (Carlsund, 1970; Richardson and Siöö, 1970). In contrast the LUG-group seemingly did not work according to a specified model, and this group produced few, if any, research reports. The LAG- and LUG-groups, together with other similar groups, began to use an increasing part of the total amount of resources available for pedagogical R & D that were administered by the National Board of Education. Bureaucratic control over research and development thus became even more pronounced. R & D projects were not only commissioned or financed by the National Board of Education, but also to an increased degree carried out by its own staff with or without expert consultation from the departments of education at the universities or at the Teachers Colleges.

Another aspect of the development of the comprehensive school should also be mentioned. From a pedagogical point of view one of the key issues is the implementation of the curriculum within the organisational framework through the development of teaching strategies. Pedagogically speaking this problem had been discussed as "individualised teaching *within* the heterogenously composed class" by the 1957 School Committee. Teachers should adopt a flexible teaching strategy whereby each student would get an instruction according to his ability and interests within the general framework created by the demands of the curriculum. As has been indicated, one of the arguments against an undifferentiated school was that differences between students could not be adequately dealt with within a heterogeneously composed class. The study by Svensson (1962) on relations between achievement and ability grouping as well as the study by Marklund (1962) on the effects of class-size and homogeneity in ability within the class on achievement had been interpreted as providing evidence against those arguments (Husén and Boalt, 1968). A later study by Dahllöf (1967; 1969), however, demonstrated that differences in achievement were evident. The introduction of various material-methods systems did not provide the teachers with sufficient help to overcome the perceived difficulties. In order to adjust to different abilities in students the teacher has a choice of omitting certain parts of the curriculum, of leaving certain students behind, or of lowering the goals if problems arise (Lundgren, 1972, p. 180). In 1970 several of the internal problems of the school surfaced in a parliamentary debate. A parliamentary committee on the "Inner Work in Schools" (SIA) was set up which delivered its main report in 1974 (SOU, 1974: 53). This report documented yet another solution to the persistent dilemma of teaching in heterogeneously grouped classes, which to a certain extent meant a bending of the rules for the comprehensive school, namely to solve the problems by the use of various forms of remedial teaching outside the regular classroom. Data on the development of remedial measures from 1963 and up till today demonstrate that this solution was being increasingly applied (SOU, 1974: 53, pp. 136–143). The 1970 Committee thus notes that during the single year of 1972, approximately 40% of all students in the comprehensive school came into contact with remedial teaching in one form or the other for shorter or longer periods of time. The 1970 Committee instituted a trial programme whereby certain schools were allowed to use economic resources in a more flexible way. The evaluation of these trials demonstrated quite clearly that these schools in many instances used the liberal rules in a way that in effect meant a differentiation of students, that is a breaking up of the principle of heterogeneously grouped classes. Furthermore, it could be noted that there was a high risk that the remedial

measures became permanent (Kilborn and Lundgren, 1974). In 1973 extra resources were given to cope with teaching problems mainly in grades 7–9 and primarily in "inner city schools". This programme was conceived as a provisional solution pending the suggestions from the 1970 Committee. For the School Year 1974/75 approximately 30 million Sw. Crowns were allocated for this programme. In comparison it should be noted that the total amount for all kinds of special education at the comprehensive level is about 600 millions.

The practical solutions to the problem of instruction in heterogeneous classes must not, however, be discussed only as short term solutions by individual teachers during a school year. The long term effects on the total educational and vocational life of pupils must also be taken into account. Within the comprehensive school system this implies an analysis of the effects of the various measures taken on the "freedom of choice" between various options within and above the comprehensive school. Such an analysis must consider the interdependence between units of content in terms of necessary prerequisite knowledge for units to come later and/or in terms of certain basic (or minimal) skills that a comprehensive school should guarantee to *all* students. This is the old curriculum problem of the "core curriculum" or the "minimum essentials", although with a new twist. The 1957 School Committee touched upon this problem in their discussions (SOU, 1961: 30, pp. 192 ff) but the adopted curriculum never adequately defined the basic units in each subject that were to be mastered by all students. In the beginning of the seventies this problem was finally noted by the National Board of Education and a special project was designed in order to specify the core curriculum in different subjects. This project worked in cooperation with the LAG- and LUG-groups mentioned earlier. The launching of this new project was, however, not a result of an insight into the causes behind the increased use of remedial measures, but a result of demands for a new marking system of a criterion-referenced type, which of course demanded a definition of contents to be mastered. The pedagogical problem is a curriculum problem but it may be discussed and defined in several different ways.

The parliamentary debate in 1970 mentioned above, demonstrated that the problems of the inner work of schools were conceived as technical ones. Teachers felt that the disciplinary problems within the school were increasing and that they were not equipped with sufficient means to cope with them. They furthermore noticed an increased boredom and disinterest among a large number of pupils (reflected in truancy rates and in disciplinary problems), and reported that they could not give their talented students sufficient chances to achieve their potential within the heterogeneously grouped classes.

Are these problems technical in nature or are they logical consequences of the comprehensive school and thus not soluble within the framework? Were profound changes needed or was it sufficient to deal with the issues within existing paradigms?

At the level of appearance some of the problems of the Swedish comprehensive school may be described in the following way: The curriculum prescribes what should be going on in the schools and what the pupils should learn. The task of the teacher is to bring about all these skills and knowledge in all students, according to their abilities. They should give all children opportunities to develop in areas prescribed by the curriculum. The teachers have problems in this respect. They feel that some children do not "want to develop" or are "unable to develop" when they are using the strategies of teaching that they know, and even the remedial measures are not sufficient. The situation is one of failure. It may be the fault of the teacher, it may be that of the curriculum, or of the "unwilling" student. Only in rare instances will an alternative explanation be considered, that it is impossible to reach the stated objectives for *all* children within the present structure. The schools are primarily adapted to the needs of certain children. A comprehensive school in a society of advanced capitalism cannot serve all children. In this perspective curricular problems have a different meaning, that was already noticed at a fundamental level by Marx in his critique of the Gotha-programme (Marx, 1875).

Foundations for curriculum theory and research: some of the lessons

A scientific analysis of the field of curriculum also concerns the relations between research and various aspects of the curriculum. While it is obvious that pedagogical research might contribute to the description of various curricular phenomena and also to their explanation, the role of research in promoting or even initiating curricular change is far more controversial.

From the point of view of research it could be stated that pedagogical research should aim

at a description of existing pedagogical practices and at working out theories which would enable us to explain the causal relationships that give birth to these practices. At a macro-level the immediate causes are linked to the political and economic structure of the society. Pedagogical research should furthermore aim at analysing the space of options open to various social forces within the present structure and its possible dynamics. The logical next step of such analyses is research that aims at describing a limited number of possible strategies and the consequences of their eventual implementation.

Early research in pedagogics within the tradition of logical empiricism had the advantage of having a rather uncomplicated relation to the issue of whether pedagogics is a normative or a theoretically explanatory discipline. The issue was that of making predictions on the basis of empirical data. When and if the objectives for the pedagogical practice had been established by politicians the products of research were usable because the researchers could tell something about the means to be used in order to reach these objectives. In that way the discipline could exist in both normative and theoretically-explanatory roles (cf. Callewaert and Kallós, 1976).

From our point of view it is quite clear that profound changes (or reforms) of educational systems (or the curriculum) are *not* initiated by researchers. It is, however, an important task for the serious researcher to analyse and explain changes that are taking place and also to explore the limits and possibilities of future change open to various social forces in the society. This also involves us in developing an explanation of the relations between education and society and the relations between schooling and curriculum.

In order to understand the complex phenomenon of the curriculum it is important to note that the teaching experiences which take place may be regarded as regulated, directed and constrained via the mediating decisions taken at various levels within the state.

In earlier papers we have chosen to discuss these constraints as *frames*, borrowing a concept originally introduced by Dahllöf (1969). In a series of papers we have discussed that concept extensively and used it in empirical curriculum research (Lundgren, 1972; Kallós, 1974, 1976; Kallós and Lundgren, 1975, 1976).

Framing may be decided upon and instituted at various levels of the bureaucracy. In the typical case fiscal resources are decided upon at levels above the school, in many instances by a legislature. In the traditional literature on curriculum the important constraining and directive role of fiscal decisions is often overlooked, although such decisions have a measurable impact on subsequent decisions and on the actual teaching (cf. McKinney and Westbury, 1975).[1]

The concept of frame does not merely provide a tool for the description of educational structures, nor does it only serve to describe relations between curriculum and teaching. Framing denotes certain observable aspects of the educational system. The level at which decisions are taken may differ between nations but in all cases they reflect to a certain extent the power structure at the political and economic level of the state. In the societies of advanced capitalism the objective function of a certain decision or a certain set of decisions concerning the system of schooling is often mystified or obscured which, for example, aids in securing a certain degree of mass-loyalty (Nyssen and Rolff, 1974; Rolff, 1974). A syllabus, a "Läro-

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[1] It should also be added that the concept of frame as used by us in earlier writings is closely related to the conceptual framework outlined by Bernstein (1971, 1975). Bernstein uses the concepts of classification and framing to cope with power and control as this reflects itself at the level of curriculum and pedagogy. "Classification" refers to the degree of boundary maintenance; to the degree of insulation between categories. In education the "subject" is perhaps at the level of appearance the crucial unit (or in some instances the "course"). Classification, according to Bernstein (1971, p. 49), thus refers

> . . . to the degree of boundary maintenance between contents. Classification focuses our attention upon boundary strength as the critical distinguishing feature of the division of labour of educational knowledge.

Classification refers to the message system of "curriculum" in Bernstein's terms, while framing refers to the message system of "pedagogy", i.e. to the pedagogical relationship between transmitter and aquirer. Framing thus refers to the

> . . . degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation, and pacing of knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship. (*Ibid.*, p. 50)

Various aspects of the relations between the conceptual framework introduced by Bernstein and our terminology have been elaborated upon elsewhere (see, for example, Kallós, 1976; Kallós and Lundgren, 1976).

plan" or any other official document of that kind is primarily to be regarded as an ideological expression of the functions and "meanings" of the school.

The apparent neutrality of schools is expressed in notions concerning the transmission of knowledge, skills, and socially accepted values within an apparently benevolent organisational structure providing equal opportunities.

It should be stressed, however, that one is doomed to fail in explaining or understanding anything that goes on in the classroom if one starts with the assumption that the teaching process is a more or less perfect instrument for the transmission of a maximum of knowledge to as many pupils as possible. The situation becomes even more difficult if one regards the curriculum and the teaching process as developed via a rational and deliberate planning procedure in accordance with stated objectives. This is due to a rather simple fact. The inner work of schools, as this is executed by teachers and pupils within the classroom, fulfils a number of mutually dependent functions at the same time. These functions can only be combined with one another in such a way that they mutually constrain and determine each other.

To the majority of pupils the school cannot offer the possibility of further development of knowledge and skills adapted to their prior or current experiences, nor to their future objective interests. Instead it offers them a preselected and predetermined body of knowledge and skills that in principle is derived from the interests of a dominant class. What traditional research on curriculum and teaching considers as effective is any instructional procedure that promotes learning of this predetermined body of subject specific knowledge. This learning is in reality the result of a cultural struggle or a resocialisation.

Within the space of a given curriculum, within the space offered by time and resources, by the composition of the school class, by the social relations constituted between teacher and pupils—the situation constituted by the frames that have been imposed—all this is rather inevitable.

Certain groups have the power to force their values, norms and views upon other groups due to power mechanisms at other levels than the symbolic one. This process has been termed "symbolic violence" by Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970). Behind the apparent neutrality of school we find the transmission of an arbitrary culture—that of a dominant class. The term "symbolic" refers in principle to what has been called the ideological level of the super-structure in classical Marxist writings. It thus refers to a dimension of social reality different from other dimensions. By "symbolic violence" certain "values", "meanings" etc. are forced upon the recipients as legitimate and are accepted as such. Bourdieu and Passeron describe the ideological effects of the appearance of that system as symbolical communication where neither the symbolic violence nor its non symbolic foundations are overtly expressed. The theoretical framework they outline provides us with one way of understanding the objective character of a certain set of frames. Callewaert and Nilsson (1974) have noted that the analysis of Bourdieu and Passeron allows us to refute the common mis-understanding that it is the formal educational system that bears the responsibility for the origin, shaping, and upholding of existing ideas and values in society. On the contrary it is the task of the schools to cultivate and diffuse these ideas and values (cf. also Althusser, 1970).

Curriculum theory and social theory

The recognition of the fact that schooling exists within a social context allows us to rethink the idea that schools and schooling are main forces in bringing about structural changes in society. The progressive liberal reform movement during this century has clearly meant a break with a *laissez-faire* ideology, and in Sweden this has meant an increased space for social reforms. Education, together with state intervention in economic life, have been major correctives in capitalist societies as, for example, Bowles and Gintis (1976) point out.

The above may be taken as implying that we regard the comprehensive school reform in Sweden as entirely negative to the interests of the working class, or entirely without effects in the area called "equality of opportunity". This is not the case. We regard the comprehensive school reform as a logical step in the development of the political and economic system of which it is a part. We also recognise the reform as a democratic one, which in principle meant an improvement in comparison with the earlier divided or streamed school system. Furthermore the reforms were the results of a political struggle. The steps forward that have been taken in Sweden have not been taken in Great Britain (Benn and Simon, 1970; Rubin-

stein and Simon, 1973) or in West-Germany (Rolff *et al.*, 1974). On the other hand the Swedish school reforms were not thorough going enough to eliminate the effects of various differences between students, nor could they have been. One important fact is that the organisational reform was not coupled to a curricular reform that matched the explicitly stated intentions. Several signs can also be noted today which imply a move backwards. The increased use of various forms of remedial teaching documented by the Committee on the Inner Work of Schools (SOU, 1974: 53) leading to a new kind of more or less permanent ability grouping (Kilborn and Lundgren, 1974) is one such sign. The current trend towards the abolition of marks within the comprehensive school, coupled with a move towards more unstructured forms of instruction can be regarded as steps in the direction of making the curriculum more invisible, which in their turn under the present circumstances probably will affect working class children in a negative way (Bernstein, 1975).

The relations between society and its educational system at the present stage of capitalism may be expressed in different ways. If the objective functions of the school are taken as a starting point in the analysis, it is quite clear that school reforms must demonstrate several contradictions (Nyssen and Rolff, 1974, pp. 39 ff).

The Swedish educational reforms of the sixties were presented as "social reforms" and were obviously based on certain assumptions about the possibility of bringing about social change towards equality via changes in the school system. The explicit ideology was one of equal opportunity. At the same time, it was argumented that changes in industry required a "new school" which could provide a larger proportion of the population with adequate qualifications for the labour market. It should, however, be noted that the whole idea of "equality of opportunity" was founded on the idea of "unequal resources" of students on the one hand, and on a selection of contents adapted to the experiences of middle and upper class students on the other. What was, and is actually achieved by the schools is the acceptance of an illusion of equal opportunity, which, of course, is strengthened by the development of various compensatory measures.

Given this perspective on the relations between schooling and society it becomes obvious that curriculum research cannot be primarily normative in character. Curriculum studies cannot primarily be focused on *how* a curriculum should be constructed or developed, but must primarily explain the determinants of the curriculum. The first question is accordingly why a certain curriculum becomes necessary under a certain set of circumstances. This does not imply that curriculum research has completely neglected this issue. But it implies that the traditional answers have been very limited in scope, where curriculum is regarded as an answer to certain demands in the society. But why do these demands dominate or why are certain groups in society in the position of exerting a direct and indirect influence on the curriculum? The fact that traditional curriculum studies at the macro level have neglected such questions does not, however, imply that they have been unimportant or trivial. Instead such research has served the function of legitimating certain political solutions, and it has furthermore served to uphold illusions about the functions and meanings of schooling. It has thus fulfilled important ideological as well as technological functions and thereby established the theory of curriculum as a theory of rational and technological deliberations (Eggleston, 1971). In this process, other approaches have been labelled "unscientific" and critical questions raised have been discarded as value issues.

The rather recent attempts in several capitalist countries to establish a theoretical basis for empirical research on relations between school and society are important, but work in this area is still in its infancy. If the view is accepted that schools are agencies of reproduction we should try to analyse how schools operate in order to fulfil their tasks.

Such analyses must take into account the curriculum at classroom level. The concepts of framing and classification may be used in this context as mediating "links" between different levels of appearance.

Curriculum and teaching

On a general level we have discussed the issue of curriculum against the background of two main questions. The first question concerned the basis for the establishment of a particular curriculum. This issue thus concerned the curriculum as an expression of the system of schooling within the society at a given time. The second issue had to do with the relations between curriculum and instruction (teaching).

If we want to discuss the relations between curriculum and teaching, it is necessary to use the decisions at that level as a basis for an analysis. Broadly expressed, such decisions concern contents, methods and organisation of teaching within the established educational system. In Sweden such decisions are presented chiefly in the form of the "Läroplan", an official document issued by the National Board of Education, and in theory the "Läroplan" may be regarded as defining the space of options open for teachers and students at the level of actual teaching. This space of options is further defined by the laws and ordinances surrounding the school and teaching. The "Läroplan" presents a rather strongly classified curriculum hand in hand with rather weak framing. In practice, however, the similarities between classrooms at the level of teaching are striking, which would imply that the options are not used differently by teachers to any large degree. The uniformity is upheld by various influences such as textbooks and teacher recruitment and training.

We have noted earlier that several problems are perceived by teachers and students in the comprehensive school, and that various forms of remedial teaching have been increasingly used as a means of coping with them. Signs of "crisis" have been mentioned in connection with schooling in most Western countries and in many respects these relate to curricular problems. If actual decisions taken concerning teaching are used as a starting point, we may note that the suggestions and rules contained in the "Läroplan", together with other proximal frames, create a situation which more or less necessarily leads to problems. Contents and working patterns are primarily adapted to experiences of middle and upper class children. Teaching within these frames does not permit teachers to take into account the different objective needs of different students when these differences are based on conflicting (and even antagonistic) interests. Contents and work forms in schools are strongly adjusted to those students who do well in today's schools and the remedial measures or the compensatory programmes are destined to give other pupils at least a minimal dose of knowledge and social skills in exactly the same areas and in more or less the same way.

We have suggested that any analysis of the educational system must start at a high level in terms of the functions of schooling. Educational researchers have to a large degree chosen an almost opposite route. Research is linked to learning and the analysis of teaching, and what it is about is accordingly defined in terms of the behaviour of teachers and students. It is virtually impossible to derive the objective functions of schooling from an analysis that uses the level of actual teaching as a starting point. To approach the problems of schooling in such a way is, however, consonant with statements in various official documents and reports. The problem is that these documents represent the ideological expression of schooling rather than an objective representation of it.

Concluding remarks

Our discussion used the Swedish school reforms as a concrete example and as a point of departure. Curriculum theory and curriculum research in connection to the school reforms have been highly subservient to the interests of the capitalist state as these are expressed by the National Board of Education.

We have tried to point out some of the problems confronting pedagogical research concerned with curricular issues. Implicitly and explicitly it has been advocated that it is possible to establish a curriculum theory on a general level, but that for such an approach to become meaningful it must generate research adapted to the concrete situation within a given school system.

The problem that we have tried to illuminate is by no means a simple one. Whether research within a materialistic frame of reference will increase or not in Sweden (and in other countries) is perhaps not primarily a matter of funding. In the case of Sweden about 60% of the total amount of money available for R & D in education is controlled and distributed by the National Board of Education, and it has been noted that practically no research critical to the basic views of the Board gets support (Ahlström and Wallin, 1976). But the space open for research that represents a challenge to the dominant ideology of the school has never been large. Such research exists, however, in Sweden as well as in the other Nordic countries, but as our discussion has demonstrated this tendency is still not very pronounced.

The situation is obviously somewhat different in other Western European countries. We have made use of various French sources. In that country a rather vigorous debate concerning education, schooling and its relation to the social, political and economic structure exists

which also has begun to make its impact felt in Sweden. We have furthermore pointed to the important contributions from the Federal Republic of Germany to the analysis of education in the societies of advanced capitalism.

In that country, however, a number of measures have been taken that represents an increasing threat to the freedom of inquiry. The so called Berufsverbote (Ban on Professional Employment) and similar measures strongly reminiscent of the McCarthy-era in the United States of America seriously affect research in the social and behavioural sciences. Hundreds of thousands of civil servants have been examined as to their political views and activities. Several have been banned from carrying out their chosen profession (Ban on Professional Employment, 1975).

The Nordic Association of Educational Research in 1976 unanimously passed a resolution condemning these and similar measures in the Federal Republic of Germany, as did the participants of the Second Congress of the European Association for Research and Development in Higher Education (EARDHE).

To further illuminate the situation in pedagogical research today it may be noted that in several instances potentially progressive researchers have associated themselves with the interests of a growing new middle class (Callewaert and Kallós, 1976), a tendency similar to that observed in the United States by Bowles and Gintis (1976).

Gintis (1972) wrote that reformers commonly err in treating education as if it existed in a social vacuum. In conclusion we state that educational research takes place within a social context: educational researchers commonly err in not recognising this fact.

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4 The politics of middle-class success in an inner-city public school

R. T. Sieber

John Ogbu has recently called attention to the current widespread "bias toward microethnography in educational research" (1981, p. 3). Educational ethnography, particularly those strands informed by sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology, and phenomenology, has come increasingly to focus analysis on the micro-organization of interaction within the classroom. The more traditional ethnographic concern with linking classroom processes to wider school, community, and societal structures has been overshadowed by a concern—as in Mehan's "constitutive ethnography"—to define classroom "interaction itself" as the locus of cultural organization in education (Mehan, 1979, p. 23). Perhaps, indeed, when wider societal forces such as "social class, stratification, and the like" are considered "sociological abstractions" of questionable relevance to classroom analysis (Mehan, 1979, p. 106-7), there is need for Ogbu and others to call for a restoration of the methodological ideal of holism in the ethnography of education.

The benefits of examining the "forces of the wider ecological environment that actually generate . . . patterns of classroom processes" (Ogbu, 1981, p. 13) have been especially compelling in analyses of minority and working-class children's school performance. Recent microethnography and much traditional work have suggested minority and working-class children's high rates of school failure are due to the "conflict" between their home and community cultures and the "middle class" culture of the school and its staff. Yet much other work has suggested how various wider structural factors—class stratification, poverty, institutional racism, the corporate economy, "the job ceiling" for blacks—underlie the social construction of failure in particular schools and classrooms (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Leacock, 1969; Ogbu, 1974, 1978; Sieber, 1978; Smollett, 1975; Valentine, 1971).

While the empirical and analytic issues have been well defined for ethnography in the case of minority and working-class education, they have not been in the case of middle-class education. In keeping with the traditional ethnographic avoidance of middle-class institutions in the United States (Sieber & Gordon, 1981), schools serving middle-class and elite populations have received little attention. When they have been the sites of research, the object of investigation has often been more general

educational processes, rather than the class implications of observed practices (e.g., Carroll, 1981; Varenne, 1976). A series of other treatments derive from comparative studies of working- and middle-class schools, classrooms, or groups (e.g. Eddy, 1965; Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970; Sieber, 1978; Smollett, 1975), but even here the dominant concern has been to underscore the comparative disadvantagement of lower-status children, rather than to analyze the bases of middle-class children's success. Even in these works there has also been a tendency to base explanation of middle-class school success on a corollary of the questionable "culture conflict" assumption: middle-class children do well and receive school approval because their home and community culture neatly matches that of the "middle class" school and its staff. The wider structural underpinnings of middle-class school success have been little explored; the effects of poverty, racism, and working-class status on education are much better understood than are the effects of affluence, political power, and middle-class status.

Research in Chestnut Heights

For fifteen months during 1972–73, I completed a comparative ethnographic study of elementary schooling in three New York City schools—public, Catholic, and Episcopal—serving a socially mixed inner-city neighborhood I have called Chestnut Heights. My major research aims were (1) to elucidate general processes of children's organizational role socializations in the schools (Sieber, 1979a, 1979b, 1981) and (2) to examine the class and ethnic implications of the varying socializations offered by this community's schools (Sieber, 1976, 1978). To this end I conducted long-term participant observation in a sample of first- and fifth-grade classrooms in the schools, studied the school organizations more generally, examined school-community relations in each case, and investigated class and ethnic relations in general community life outside the schools.

The major site of my research was P. S. 4, the community's public school, and also its largest. The school's enrollment of 782 children, grades K - 5, was a mixed one in 1972–73: Hispanics, almost all Puerto Rican, totaled 59% of the enrollment; other minorities, 5%; and, "others," 37%. Among these "others" at P. S. 4 were a sizable group of upper-middle-class children. My comparison of the middle-class children's classrooms with those of the school's other children revealed that the middle-class children were receiving a distinctly different type of schooling than their poor and working-class peers in the school. The middle-class children were successful: they received the highest levels of expectation, teaching effort, social approval, and academic reward.

At the same time, my conjoint research in the wider school and community revealed something that might have remained hidden had I confined my investigation to classrooms alone. The privileged standing of

the middle-class children in the school was not simply the result of the cultural advantage afforded by their upbringing; in fact, their "middle-class" culture conflicted on many points with the culture of the school and its staff. The middle-class children's success at P. S. 4 had been, rather, achieved only through a history of ongoing political conflict that had pitted their parents against the school staff, as well as against the school's other parents. Indeed, the classroom events I was witnessing were the end product of a much broader process of gentrification the school's middle-class parents had brought to Chestnut Heights over the previous decade.

Chestnut Heights and Its Groups

Chestnut Heights is a medium-density American inner-city community of 9000 people located in one of New York City's five boroughs. Its quiet twenty-one square blocks of tree-lined streets and attached four-story townhouses are sharply bounded on three sides by an expressway and two wide commercial thoroughfares. Since the early twentieth century, it has been a predominantly white, Catholic, working- and lower-middle-class neighborhood. The long-term residents see themselves as "working people." They engage in local small business, work as skilled or semi-skilled laborers in maritime shipping, manufacturing, or construction, or hold lower-level white collar positions in state and local government, insurance, or banking. Ethnically, they are third-generation or longer resident Irish, Italians, and Syrians.

Through the 1960's, the white Catholic ethnic groups came to be increasingly known as "Oldtimers" as their community experienced two simultaneous influxes of newcomers. The first of these waves was composed of Hispanic immigrants, for the most part from Puerto Rico, who began to settle in large numbers in segregated tenement blocks on the western and eastern fringes of the neighborhood. While not living in Chestnut Heights proper, the Hispanics came to share many of the community's institutions, such as schools, churches, government offices, and retail businesses. The Hispanics are predominantly poor; most work as low-paid factory operatives in a variety of local seasonal industries, especially garment work, or as lower-echelon service workers in restaurants, janitorial services, or health institutions. Approximately 40% receive public assistance.

The second influx was composed of a predominantly Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, young, and cosmopolitan group, referred to both by themselves and others as "brownstoners." Most were not natives of New York City, but had migrated there for career reasons to work as professionals in the city's downtown business district, in fields such as law, architecture, finance, advertising, and the arts. To the brownstoners, the "quiet Victorian charm" of the neighborhood, its proximity to downtown Manhattan, and its low-priced but sound housing stock made the area attractive

for settlement. The young professionals came to be closely identified with the townhouses they purchased at low cost and avidly rehabilitated. The term, "brownstoner," in fact, derives from "brownstone," the name given the community's house type, traditionally covered with a facade of brown stone.

The Brownstoners and Gentrification

Following the model of "brownstone revivals" in other nearby inner-city neighborhoods, Chestnut Heights' early brownstoners (whom other brownstoners term "the pioneers") immediately set out to enhance the area's suitability for further middle-class settlement. By 1960 a civic association, the Chestnut Heights Association (CHA) had been founded to serve as the primary organizational vehicle for neighborhood improvement. By 1970, the CHA's membership rolls had swelled to more than 200. The Association's activities centered on the beautification, greening, and architectural restoration of the neighborhood, on the protection of its quiet, residential character, and on public advocacy of its merits as a good community for middle-class living.

The Association undertook an extensive tree-planting campaign, established a small park on a centrally located vacant lot, and conducted antilittering drives on nearby commercial blocks. They successfully fought hospital expansion and expressway construction that would have destroyed housing. To attract further middle-class homebuyers, they conducted an annual spring "house tour" of the better examples of the area's restored and rehabilitated dwellings. They were also instrumental in selecting a fashionable new name—"Chestnut Heights"—for the neighborhood, which had formerly shared the designation of "North End" with an adjacent community. In 1971, they had the area declared a city Historical Landmarks Preservation District, which placed new zoning restrictions on construction and exterior modernizations of local buildings. Even before the Landmark designation, brownstoners had made formal and informal educational efforts to dissuade Oldtimer residents from making what they saw as unsightly modifications of house facades, stoops, grillwork, and windows.

Socially, brownstoners were a rather insular group. They and the CHA had little if any involvement in the area's political clubs, veterans groups, churches, parish organizations, and fraternal organizations that would have allowed them to interact informally with Oldtimers and Hispanics. In the sphere of electoral politics, in fact, brownstoners organized a "Reform" Democratic Party organization whose aim—and eventual accomplishment—was to oust the local Oldtimer-dominated "Regular" organization. Brownstoners' religion—most were nonobservant Protestants—did not draw them into the community's active associational life centered in the Catholic parishes. Brownstoners and Oldtimers did not mix in educational contexts, either, since most Oldtimers enrolled

their children in Catholic schools and most brownstoners, in other, Protestant-affiliated private schools. Brownstoner relations with Hispanics, who lived segregated in the fringe areas, were virtually nonexistent. The CHA did, however, organize for its members regular social events, such as dances, art shows, musical concerts, and the like.

Brownstoners characteristically did not participate in the community's active street life carried on by Oldtimers and Hispanics, instead favoring more private and formal socializing in one another's homes or "gardens" (back yards). Their children, as well, were discouraged from playing in the street. On the block, relations with Oldtimer neighbors were generally friendly, but described as being on a "nodding or speaking acquaintance basis." The extensive brownstoner networks of friendship and mutual aid did not extend beyond their own group: it was with other brownstoners that they organized babysitting pools, exchanged baby clothes, sought practical advice and assistance in their renovation efforts, and entertained. It was only to the homes of other brownstoners—not to each house in the neighborhood—that parents took their children trick-or-treating on Halloween night.

The social insulation of the brownstoners and their perceived arrogance in imposing their own aesthetic and political views on other residents worked to create tension between them and their neighbors. Even more unsettling to the Oldtimers, however, was the double-edged impact brownstoner settlement was having on the area housing market. Housing prices, apartment rents, and property taxes tripled and quadrupled during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Few Oldtimer children coming of adulthood were any longer able to afford purchasing or renting housing in their own neighborhood. Even though Oldtimers had to acknowledge the brownstoners had brought pride, improvement, and financial gain to the neighborhood, their declining control of their neighborhood was a difficult cost for them to bear. Brownstoner efforts to improve local public education would have a similar ambiguous mix of costs and benefits for the community.

Brownstoners, Education, and The Public School

From the onset of brownstoner settlement, most of the newcomers spurned the local public elementary school, P. S. 4, believing its staff and educational program to be lacking in quality. Most enrolled their children in one of a half dozen nearby private day schools, including a neighborhood Episcopal school. Even when brownstoner public school enrollments were at an all-time high in the early 1970's, more than 80% of brownstoner children attended private schools. Since this avoidance of public education was shared by most Oldtimer families, whose children attended Catholic schools, P. S. 4 had been left predominantly Puerto Rican in enrollment.

Nonetheless, a small minority of the early brownstoner parents chose to send their children to P. S. 4, for reasons of cost and political convictions. They "believed in the public schools." However, they were not the only brownstoners to become involved in public school affairs. Many with children in private school agreed that improvement of the public school was a key element in making the neighborhood attractive for further middle-class settlement and in enhancing the general quality of community life. Acting out of their sense of civic—rather than personal—duty, a handful of these private school parents joined with the public school parents into an informal action group intent on improving the school. They also had the support of the CHA, whose official "Education Committee" they became and at whose meetings they regularly reported on their efforts.

Initially, the brownstoners' efforts centered on gaining regular access to the school, gathering information on school practices and personnel, and establishing their social presence in a school that had formerly lacked a middle-class clientele. Under CHA sponsorship, they organized a tutorial program for the school's slow readers, drawing many brownstoners into the school on a regular basis. They volunteered to work in the school library and made themselves indispensable to its operations. They studied all available school and system documents.

The brownstoners made a conscious attempt to engender class deference on the part of the school staff, which they believed would help ameliorate the usual staff-client hierarchy parents were subject to in public schools. The brownstoners were mainly of middle-class origin. P. S. 4's staff, mostly Jewish and of strong working-class origins, also considered themselves to be middle class, but conceded they were a "different kind of middle class—not upper-middle class, I guess," as one teacher put it. Brownstoners invited the school's staff to a series of late afternoon social teas at their homes. For these teas, they pooled their best china and linens so that the teachers would be impressed by the fact, in one parent's words, that "we were middle class, not lower class," like the parents the teachers were used to dealing with. The parents also made a concerted effort to master the "educational jargon" spoken by school personnel, which they saw as a major source of parental exclusion and patronization.

The brownstoners also sought an active role in the P. S. 4 PTA, at that time led by a handful of Puerto Rican mothers who were employed as paraprofessionals at the school. It was here that brownstoner efforts to gain influence over the school brought them into direct conflict with the Puerto Rican parent leadership. During the 1968 teachers' strike, brownstoners had crossed picket lines to open and operate the school and clashed with the Puerto Rican PTA leadership who, as paraprofessional members of the United Federation of Teachers (New York City's AFL-CIO-affiliated teachers' union), supported the strike.

Brownstoners believed the Puerto Rican parent leaders had abrogated their responsibility as advocates for the school's children and as watchdogs of the school staff. Indeed, irrespective of the Puerto Ricans' role during the strike, brownstoners regarded them as lacking the education, organizational skills, and economic independence necessary for effective, disinterested parent leadership. They saw the Puerto Ricans as too easily intimidated by the school's teachers and administrators. Teachers, in fact, dominated the PTA organization—in attendance at meetings, office-holding, definition of agenda, and decision-making.

In spring 1970, in a well-orchestrated election meeting attended by unusual numbers of brownstoners, the newcomers ousted the Puerto Rican leadership and elected their own slate of PTA officers. To make the organization more independent and capable of adversarial positions, they soon redefined the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) as a Parent Association (PA). This redefinition barred teachers from membership and office-holding. Throughout the early 1970's, the PA's nine-member executive board was an all-brownstoner group, excepting for one office which brownstoners reserved for a Puerto Rican. This office, that of second vice-president, was largely functionless and was openly referred to among the brownstoners as "the Puerto Rican slot." The brownstoners maintained that the Puerto Rican parents generally were "glad" and "grateful" they had assumed control of the PA, "because they know we can do a better job than they can." The Puerto Rican parents, in fact, continued to harbor great bitterness over what they saw as a "takeover" of their organization. Several attempts to regain influence were blocked by brownstoners. Brownstoners explained the continuing lack of Puerto Rican participation in the PA as due to the Hispanics' "apathy." Puerto Rican parents were quick to note, however, that they were made to feel unwelcome at meetings, where the needed translators were seldom made available and where decisions that had already been made "in secret" by the brownstoners were publicly announced.

Internal Segregation and the "Chestnut Heights Classes"

Tracking had existed at the school long before the advent of brownstoners, and from the beginning of their enrollment in the school, brownstoner children tended to be placed in the "1-classes"—the most advanced of the homogeneously grouped homerooms in their grades. (There were four such tracked classes in each grade.) In 1969-70, an innovation took place at the school that institutionalized the segregation of brownstoner children into special classes which the staff—unknown to parents—came informally to term "the Chestnut Heights classes." (The staff identified brownstoners with the new and to them unfamiliar name they had given the neighborhood.) At the urging of brownstoner parents and with the support of the school principal, this innovation entailed that the 1-class in each grade be given a partially "open" organizational for-

mat. Staff explained that this format was more in keeping with the social and academic capabilities of the newcomer children, and parents saw an open format as more consistent with the child-rearing philosophy their children had been subject to at home. These partially open classes, with their high track status and their distinctive curriculum, came to be the special province of the school's brownstoner children.

Enrollment figures from the school's 1972-73 first-grade classes, broken down by community group, illustrate how brownstoner children came to be assigned uniformly to the "Chestnut Heights class" of the grade (see Table 1). All twenty-one brownstoner first-graders were enrolled in this top class. The grouping employed throughout the grade also

Table 1

GROUP COMPOSITION OF P. S. 4 FIRST-GRADE CLASSES BY TRACK STATUS

	1-1 ("top")		1 - 2		1 - 3		1-4 ("bottom")	
Group	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Brownstoners	21	64	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oldtimers	5	15	13	52	3	12	1	5
Hispanics	6	19	9	36	21	84	20	95
Other groups	1	3	3	12	1	4	—	—

replicates the ethnic and class divisions in the wider community generally; the school's few Oldtimer children are concentrated in the grade's second-ranking track, and Hispanic children, in the two lowest ranking classes. This overall tracking pattern was carried throughout all grades in the school. Once children were assigned to these segregated classes there was little track mobility for the duration of their elementary school careers.[1] It was the acknowledged school practice to promote the classes intact, particularly where the Chestnut Heights classes were concerned. An examination of the tracking careers of the school's 1972-73 fifth-graders from the top- and bottom-tracked fifth-grade classes, for example, indicated that 85% of the 5-1 children had spent all of their P. S. 4 careers in the 1- and 2-classes of the grade; of the 5-4 children, 88% had always been assigned to the classes ranked below 1- and 2- classes.[2]

Brownstoner parents were well aware that a child's being of a brownstoner family was the crucial ticket for admission to the 1-classes. There was some recognition that recruitment to these classes violated the meritocratic principles usually expected to govern track placements; brownstoner parents conceded among themselves that there were brown-

stoner children they knew of who "do not really belong in a 1-class" academically, but who were nonetheless placed there. In explaining recruitment of children to the classes, however, the PA and brownstoners underplayed the hierarchical character of the track system and emphasized that curricular diversity, not meritocracy, was the more important legitimating principle. Their children were simply being provided an educational format more in keeping with their parents' distinctive wishes, and their children's distinctive capabilities.

During 1970-71, the year after the establishment of the "Chestnut Heights classes," the PA succeeded in convincing the school to drop the usual official designations of classrooms by grade and "exponent" (track position), e.g., "class 1-1" or ". . . 2-4." The brownstoners thought such open track designations were "cruel" to the lower-tracked children. For the children's and the community's benefit, the classes publicly came to be designated by their grade and room numbers (e.g., "class 1-407," instead of "class 1-1"). Suggesting that a meritocratic legitimation of the system remained, however, staff and brownstoner parents continued unofficially to refer to the classes in the traditional fashion. Children in all grades, of course, remained aware that the school had its "dumb" and "smart" classes.

While realizing that their children were segregated into special classes, brownstoner parents continued to see the school as a strongly "integrated" one. In fact, most brownstoners maintained that among the school's major assets were its integrated character and the fact that their children were "exposed to kids from all kinds of backgrounds." Brownstoner parents could point to P. S 4's integrated enrollment on a schoolwide basis, and to the presence of non-brownstoners in their children's classes. "Chestnut Heights classes" did contain a minority of Oldtimer and Hispanic children, who were recruited on the more usual meritocratic basis. Brownstoner parents did not recognize how profoundly few were the occasions, however, when their children could interact with those from other backgrounds while in school. During regular session, classes were entirely self-contained units. On the surface, the schoolyard at noon recess appeared to be a cacophonous intermingling of children of all ages, social classes, and ethnicities. Close observation there revealed, though, that children played almost exclusively with those from their home rooms.

Schooling in the Chestnut Heights Classes

Teachers and parents alike conceived of the Chestnut Heights classes as more "open" in organization than the school's remaining classes, the "traditional ones." Actually, the classrooms were converted into explicit open format only for a small portion of each day, and they shared most of the basic social organizational traits common to all classes in the school. In line with the brownstoner parents' fears, and

more than the staff liked to admit, the classes were strongly representative of standard New York City public school culture. Nevertheless, in Chestnut Heights classes there was a considerably greater presence of forms of pupil activity organization allowing for peer group and, particularly, individual expressions of autonomy, initiative, and creativity. These classes were the most child-centered in the school.

Liberal allotments of time were given over, for example, to the creative arts: poetry-writing, painting, sculpting, crafts of all kinds, writing and producing of dramas, etc. The range of creative activities and available materials in these classes was considerably greater than in other classes. "Activities school," or "open classroom," occurred daily, when individuals and spontaneously formed groups chose which of a wide array of educational materials, activities, and games they wished to engage in, and for how long. The Chestnut Heights class teachers proudly explained to parents that certain types of materials—cuisenaire rods, geo-boards, and the like—were distinctive to their classes and unusual in public schools anywhere.

All children in these classes were expected formally to address their classes on a regular basis, to make reports, read poetry, display and explain their art work, and carry on debates. In the upper grades, children led class recitation often, rotated the responsibility of instructing their classmates in some subject areas, and on occasion were even permitted to give their peers seat work assignments. Children were expected to offer public positive criticism of their peers' performances in these situations. These avenues for children's active direction of their curricular work were largely lacking in the school's other classrooms. The lower track classrooms, especially, were strongly teacher-centered; classroom work was largely standardized, and little group or individualized work occurred.

The classes were also distinctive in matters of classroom discipline. Behavioral standards in the upper track classes were more relaxed, especially in the areas of verbal behavior and personal demeanor. Children could move about more, and in some classes seating was not assigned but could be freely chosen on a daily or even hourly basis. (Seating was fixed and strongly teacher-controlled in the school's other classes.) Children were also permitted to initiate and carry on more conversation with their teacher and their peers. Frequent talking in class that would be reprimanded in other classrooms was permitted of brownstoner children because they were believed by staff to be "naturally more verbal."

The sanctions teachers used in punishing children were also different in kind from those used in other classes. For the brownstoner children, more use was made of verbal punishment—reprimands, normative appeals, reasoning, explicit moral teaching—and correspondingly less use made of the sanctions more common in lower tracked classes: physical coercion, denial of material goods (such as food, supplies, materials), constraint of classroom social organization and peer relationships (e.g.,

through seat changes and isolation), and withdrawal of privileges (chiefly centering on recess and other play-related activities).

The brownstoner children's elite status in the school was not simply a function of their distinctive, more prestigious curriculum, and the distinctive content of their behavioral training. Their superior status was continually publicly reaffirmed by their near exclusive assumption of various school-wide pupil offices and other visible public pupil roles. These roles, as well, provided them with valuable training in leadership behavior. Chestnut Heights classes, for example, were the ones chosen by staff to supply contestants for interschool spelling bees and other academic competitions; artists for paintings to adorn the walls of the district school office and the pages of official school publications; lead performers in most school plays; candidates for the major offices in pupil governmental organization elections; and, various school-wide monitors such as crossing guards and main-office attendants. The Chestnut Heights classes, as "1-classes" within their grade cohorts, were allowed to sit farthest from the front of the auditorium during school assemblies, which they were told was the position of "greatest trust." The classes also dominated in the receipt of various awards, prizes, and commendations for measured behavior and performance of all kinds. These were regularly given at assemblies, each morning via the school public address system, and at graduation exercises. All these were only the most dramatic of the ways that the children's status as members of the "best classes" was validated for them.

Staff Views of Brownstoner Children and Parents

The Chestnut Heights classes and their children were, in many respects, the pride of P. S. 4's teaching and administrative staff. Outside visitors to the school were encouraged to visit these classes for observations and tours, and the classes had given P. S. 4 a reputation in the wider school district for innovation and progressivism. The children, as well, were the best prepared in the school, and teaching effort and standards being especially high for them, their level of academic achievement was satisfyingly high for staff.

The teachers saw the children as "special," "bright," and "gifted," and they displayed considerably more deference and solicitousness toward them than toward other children. This was evident not only in the forms of classroom organization and the teaching styles used with them, but also in everyday classroom interaction. In their assessments of the children, the staff's admiration of their verbal, social, and academic "maturity" was also often mixed with admiration for the social standing of their families. The teachers made comparisons among themselves—and even boasted—over how many of their children's parents were doctors, lawyers, writers, and architects. They clipped occasional items on the families from newspaper social columns, passed them

around in the teachers' lunchroom, and discussed some of their children's pedigrees.

There was considerable ambivalence in the teachers' attitudes toward the children, however. They objected to the children's moral character and social attitudes. These objections reflected the teachers' disapproval of the brownstoner parents' attitudes, lifestyles, and other elements of their class culture. As bright as they believed the children to be—or perhaps because of it—the teachers regarded the children as "spoiled," lacking in discipline and respect, and overprivileged. To demonstrate the children's characteristic behavior, teachers recounted stories of especially arrogant brownstoner children who showed condescension even to the school staff, such as the second-grade girl who refused to pick up papers under her desk because, "that's what the janitors are paid to do," or children who expected teachers to pay for their lunch milk when they themselves had forgotten the money.

It was precisely this attitude of condescension that the teachers also perceived and resented in the brownstoner parents. While many friendly and mutually supportive relationships existed between brownstoner parents and the teachers, the brownstoners as a group were thought of as "pushy," "overbearing," and "interfering." Brownstoner cosmopolitanism, lifestyle, and etiquette were negatively evaluated by the teachers. They criticized the parents for such things as their disrespectful informality of attire when visiting the school, their casual attitude toward children's lateness, their bossy manner toward the main office secretaries, and their assumption that normal rules and procedures could always be overridden in their favor.

Teachers also imputed moral and personal instability to brownstoners. Mostly residents of middle-class suburbs, the staff questioned the brownstoners' willingness to live in a neighborhood they viewed as an unattractive, decaying, "semi-slum": "What kind of people would choose to live here anyway?" They saw the brownstoners' frequent career-related geographical mobility as indicating an irresponsible kind of "transience": "They come in and spend thirty thousand to fix up a house and then leave after two years." They questioned the brownstoners' family morals, citing high numbers of single parent families: "The biggest shock of all is how many broken families they have."

The teachers' ambivalence about the special pressures of being a Chestnut Heights class teacher was evident in that many avoided taking the assignment. In New York City public schools, assignment to a 1-class is normally viewed as a rewarding and prestigious task, so much so that the teachers' union contract stipulates that the assignment must rotate by seniority among teachers in the grade. Even at P. S. 4, the higher status of 1-class teachers was reflected in the fact that teachers of these classes also assumed the quasi-administrative position of "grade leaders" of their grades. Notwithstanding these benefits, many P. S. 4 teachers bypassed assignment to a 1-class to avoid the undue parental "pressure"

and "interference."

Parental involvement in the classes was, indeed, active. It was common knowledge that the school's five Chestnut Heights classes drew many more visits on Parents' Night and Open School Week, and more individual parent conferences and communications, than the school's remaining fifteen classes. Such interest was in many respects a source of gratification and support for the 1-class teachers, even while it was viewed as a burdensome overload. The quality of parental contacts was more at issue, in any case. The parents were seen as quick to criticize and to make invasive complaints. Particularly nettlesome were the complaints about matters the staff saw as trivial, personal, or legitimately within their own professional judgment—pedagogical procedures, bathroom policies, routines followed during milk and cookies break, tones of voice used in disciplining, the use of certain punishments, etc. There was also the strong and persistent pressure for even more individualized, child-centered instruction, and for even laxer styles of classroom management, which conflicted with the staff's sense of duty to instill at least a moderate amount of structure and responsibility in the children.

Parents: Powerful but Still Outsiders

The teachers were correct in perceiving that the parents looked down on them. While satisfied with the staff's competence as teachers, parents were not happy with the social and cultural role models the staff presented their children. They saw the teachers, most of whom had spent their entire lives in this New York City borough, as socially unsophisticated and as provincial in outlook and manners. Particularly alarming were the teachers' strong local accents and perceived "loudness" of manner. The parents also saw the staff's provincial, working-class upbringings at the root of their commitment to what they saw as "rigid, public school" styles of action.

Even as they demonstrated class condescension to the staff, the brownstoners in their own turn felt patronized by the staff and subject to their professional condescension. This feeling existed in spite of the fact that the school had accommodated many of their program recommendations and gave them easier and more regular access to their children's teachers than other parents. Chestnut Heights class teachers, for example, were the only teachers who scheduled frequent parent informational meetings, beyond the mandatory Parents' Night, to explain their curriculum. The teachers were also accommodating—even if reluctantly—to informal parent conferences before and after school and during their free periods.

It remained true, though, that on a day-to-day basis staff members were largely successful in maintaining their professional and organizational autonomy vis-a-vis parents. Even brownstoner parents were subject to the normal strictures—some subtle and some not so

subtle—against free access to classrooms and school offices. Parents who dropped into the school during school hours seeking to see teachers were usually rebuffed. Those wishing extended conversations were required to arrange appointments two to four weeks in advance. Brownstoners felt teachers concealed information from them on their children and their classes, and were unreasonable not to accept their suggestions for modifications of rigid classroom procedures. When staff did provide information, the parents felt it was often given condescendingly—in one parent's words, as if "they were doling out porridge to us."

Conclusions

In showing how "social hierarchies [are] translated into academic hierarchies" in French higher education, Pierre Bourdieu has offered an articulate analysis of the social reproduction functions of elite education (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 496; see also Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The education system, Bourdieu maintains, is effective in adding to the "cultural capital" of the young only when the "cultural competencies that the receiver owes to his family upbringing" correspond to the "dominant culture" that the education system itself mirrors and transmits (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 493). There are reasons to queston the adequacy of Bourdieu's model, however, when it is applied to urban elementary schools such as P. S. 4.

In earlier work (Sieber, 1976, 1978), following Leacock (1969) and Bowles and Gintis (1976), I have argued that the "hidden curriculum" of values, attitudes, and social skills inculcated in P. S. 4's "Chestnut Heights classes" provides children with early preparation for adult work roles similar to their parents'—as professionals, managers, and leaders. The traits of individual autonomy, initiative, creativity, and leadership fostered by the children's schooling are not only consistent with the social requirements of these future work roles, but also with their parents' child-rearing practices in the family. In these respects, it is true that schooling contributes to the orderly social reproduction of class and ethnic boundaries between brownstoners and other Chestnut Heights residents. At the same time, it is clear that this broad correspondence among school, work, and home cultures was not easily or automatically forthcoming for brownstoners. They had to engage in an ongoing struggle with the school staff and with other parents to achieve a correspondence that still did not fully satisfy them.

Many factors might be cited to explain the brownstoners' difficulties. One relevant consideration is that P. S. 4 is an elementary school. Because elementary schools tend to be smaller and more local, they are more likely to reflect broader forms of parental involvement and staff-parent conflict than are schools at higher levels. Another factor is that P. S. 4 was a school with a tradition of serving a working-class and poor clientele and was located in a traditionally working-class

neighborhood; a middle-class presence had been alien to it. Brownstoners were aggressive newcomers, intent on asserting their dominance and in turn engendering defensive reactions from the school as from the community.

It may well be that school-community tensions for middle-class parents are more prevalent in inner-city public schools, with long traditions of serving working-class populations, than in newer public schools in more heavily middle-class, suburban areas. While a close compatibility of goals between school and middle-class families is reported by Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (1956) and Henry (1976), for example, Becker's late 1940's study of Chicago public schools revealed many of the same tensions evident in New York's Chestnut Heights. In Chicago, Becker (1952, p. 454) noted that elementary teachers saw children from the "upper stratum" (explained to be "probably equivalent to upper-middle class") as stimulating to teach, but as spoiled, overindulged, and disrespectful. Because of parental influences, moreover, teachers had to defer to these children more than they liked (Becker, 1952, pp. 454, 458, 461).

At the university level, Bourdieu sees academic success as resting mainly on students' personal, class-based linguistic and cultural competencies and prior cultural experiences. These might be appropriate explanatory factors when the empirical focus is on the university level, and they are consistent with the more usual explanations of middle-class success in American schooling. In the case of urban elementary schools such as P. S. 4, however, Bourdieu's model seems to reify the process by which schools enhance the cultural capital of elites, underestimating the hand that parent and community forces have in this process. The present consideration of community history, school-community relations, and middle-class parent involvement indicates that intense political struggles were key factors in the establishment of elite education at P. S. 4. However limited its representativeness might be, the case of this inner-city elementary school dramatizes that school success is as actively and patiently constructed—both inside and outside the school—as school failure has been shown to be.

Notes

1. The self-fulfilling nature of the tracking process, whereby achievement comes to confirm the varying expectations maintained for children (Rist, 1970), no doubt contributes to and legitimates this lack of mobility.

2. Between first and fifth grades, increasing numbers of brownstoner parents left the school, transferring their children to private schools. This allowed for more mobility of non-brownstoner children into the 1-class in the upper elementary grades.

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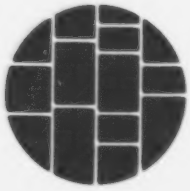

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The text links a theory of constraints on teaching to a general theory of education and society. The idea of the frame factor is introduced as a way of linking explanations between macro-level and micro-level activity, drawing in part on the works of Basil Bernstein. Two specific research projects conducted by Professor Lundgren are used to develop the argument.

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